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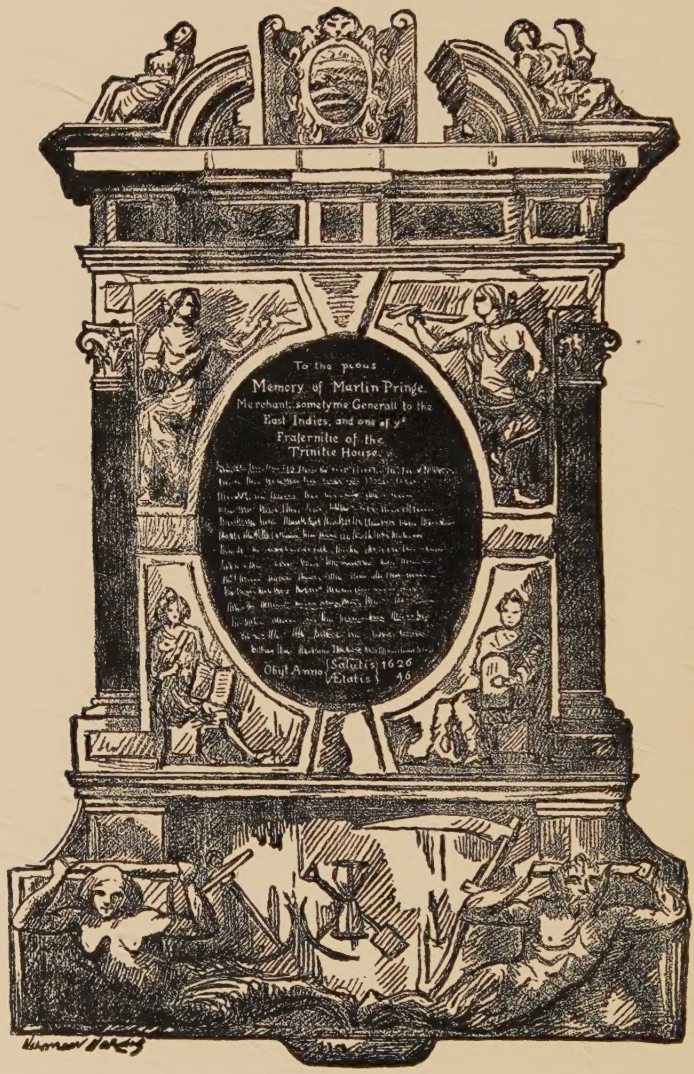

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THE AVANT COURIERS OF COLONIZATION

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

THE AVANT COURIERS OF COLONIZATION

BY HON. JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY

A paper read on November 19, 1903, before the Maine Historical Society at a meeting commemorative of the tercentenary of Martin Pring's first voyage to America

How long before the discoveries of Columbus and Cabot the western hemisphere had been visited by adventurers from other parts of the world will ever be a matter of speculation. Traditions of prior discoveries therein have engaged the attention and support of ingenious writers, but they are too vague to stand the test of historical criticism. Such are the alleged discoveries by Phœnicians, perhaps the most daring navigators of antiquity, of Jews, Chinese, Irish, Scandinavians and Welsh. Even the discoveries so generally believed to have been made by the Norsemen in the tenth century, although the sagas which describe them bear internal evidences of truth, cannot be properly regarded as history.

The first known discovery of the North American continent was made by John Cabot on June 24, 1497. Even Cabot's landfall and the extent of his discoveries are matters of controversy. He was followed in the spring of 1500 by the Cortereal brothers,

Gaspar and Miguel, who penetrated the waters which wash the shores of Labrador, but encountering ice made a brief survey of the coast and returned to Lisbon in the autumn of 1500.

In the spring of 1501, Gaspar again set sail for the New World with three ships, and striking the coast south of his former landfall, he followed it northerly for several hundred miles, when encountering ice he turned back and skirted the coast toward the south. A bit of a sword and silver earrings of European manufacture, supposed relics of Cabot's visit, were discovered in possession of the natives, who were so unsuspicious of strangers that fifty-seven of them weer made prisoners, probably by enticing them on board his vessels. An eminent authority supposes these people to have been captured on the coast of Maine.[1] Setting sail without their commander two of his ships reached Lisbon in safety. Miguel, after watching in vain for the return of his brother, set out with three ships on the 10th of May, 1502, to seek him, and safely reaching the American coast, began a careful search for the missing ship. Finding the rivers and inlets numerous, he divided his fleet so as to make his search more effective, arranging a rendezvous for the 20th of August. Two of the vessels met at the appointed time and place and awaited the arrival of the other bearing their commander, but he did not appear, and weary with waiting, they returned to Lisbon without him. When another spring returned, the king dispatched an expedition in search of the

[1] Kohl in "Documentary History of Maine," Vol. I.

brothers, but it returned without success. They had disappeared in the gray mists which sweep mysteriously along the northern shores of the American continent, leaving the world forever to wonder at their fate, and relatives and friends to plan expeditions for their rescue from perils wrought but in dreams.

Nor were the English idle, for on the 9th of March, 1501, Richard Ward, Thomas Ashurst and John Thomas, ship owners of Bristol, associating themselves with three Portuguese mariners, Juan Gonsalvez and Juan and Francisco Fernandez, obtained from Henry VII. letters patent for western discovery. In pursuance of their object, two voyages, of which no particulars have been preserved, were doubtless made in 1501 and 1502, when the association ended, and a new one was formed by Ashurst and another Bristol merchant, Hugh Eliot, with two of the Portuguese, to whom letters patent were issued December 9, 1502. Under this association three successive voyages appear to have been made in the years 1503, 1504 and 1505, but everything relating to them is veiled in obscurity. Equally unsuccessful were the efforts of the French to gather fruit from Cabot's discoveries. In 1506, Jean Denys of Honfleur, and in 1508, Thomas Aubert, sailed from the shores of France to the northwest with high hopes of winning wealth and fame, but their efforts were barren of results, and in 1518, an attempt at settlement on Sable Island by the Baron de Lery proved abortive. On March 15, 1521, Emmanuel, King of Portugal, issued letters patent to Joao Alvarez Fagundes, to

possess and colonize lands in the New World, and from an ancient Portuguese chart it would appear that he discovered the present Nova Scotia. For a long time his name figures in the cartography of this region.

On January 17, 1524, Jean Verrazano under the patronage of Francis I., of France, set sail in a small vessel called the Dauphine with fifty men and provisions for eight months, on a voyage of discovery to the northwest. Verrazano probably made his landfall on the North Carolinian coast. Finding no harbor, he skirted the coast for fifty leagues southward, and then turning to the north explored the coast for about seven hundred leagues, when, finding his provisions growing scanty, he set sail for home and arrived at Dieppe in July.

In the year 1525, Estevan Gomez under authority of the Spanish king, set out on a similar voyage. His landfall must have been near that of Verrazano and his course to the north along almost the same lines. He entered the Penobscot River which he named the Rio de las Gamos, or river of stags, on account of the abundance of these animals which he saw there. It appears that he followed the coast to the vicinity of Newfoundland. Before his return to Spain, with the proverbial cruelty of the Spaniard, "He filled his ship with innocent people of both sexes half naked," says Peter Martyr, to be sold for slaves.

On the 20th of May, 1527, the Samson & Mary of Guilford, under the command of John Rut, sailed from the Thames, touching at Plymouth Harbor, from

whence she departed on the 10th of June, and on the 3d of August, came to anchor in the harbor of St. Johns amidst a fleet of fourteen ships, Norman, Breton and Portuguese, which had come to those far off shores to gather the harvest of the seas. By the fragmentary account which has been preserved of this voyage, we see something of the extent of maritime enterprise in those waters even at this early day.

For several years we have no record of English or French voyages to the northwest; but in 1534, Jacques Cartier, having obtained a commission from the French king, Francis I., set sail from St. Malo, with two ships each of sixty tons burden, to explore the northern coast of America in order to find an opening to India. Failing in this, he returned home, but not discouraged he set out with three vessels on another voyage to the same region the following year, intending to establish himself there for the winter. On this voyage he discovered the St. Lawrence, and remained in the country until the spring of 1536, when he returned home. Before the return of Cartier from this voyage, there sailed from Gravesend at the end of April, 1536, an English expedition consisting of two ships commanded by Robert Hore. We hear of him at Cape Breton, from whence he took his departure for home the same year. It seems improbable that he sailed as far south as the Maine coast. In 1541, Cartier in conjunction with the Sieur de Roberval, attempted to settle a colony on the St. Lawrence, but the enterprise came to a disastrous close two years later.

It is not until 1565 that we hear of another voyage of exploration by either English or French. In the late summer of that year Captain John Hawkins followed the entire coast of North America from Florida to Newfoundland, with three ships, exploring it as he went. The coast of Maine with its many bays and rivers, must have attracted attention, and the knowledge he gained of the region must have passed to others, and perhaps have been the means of subsequently arousing the interest of his countrymen in it.

For some years we have no record of voyages to the northwest for the purpose of discovery or colonization. Adventurers, discouraged by repeated failure, had adopted the opinion of Peter Martyr to the effect that, "They that seek riches must not go to the frozen north." A few, however, like Sir Humphrey Gilbert, continued to hold an adverse opinion. Inspired by Gilbert, Martin Frobisher, who had won a reputation in England, for seamanship, succeeded, with the aid of the Earl of Warwick, in fitting out two small barks, manned with thirty-four men, with which he crossed the ocean, sailing from Gravesend in June, 1576. He made two successive voyages in 1577 and 1578, but did not approach the Maine coast. When he arrived, however, in English waters, an expedition, consisting of seven ships and three hundred and fifty men, was ready to sail thither, under the command of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. This heroic man had given inspiration to the first voyage of Frobisher, and on the 11th of the preceding June, had been granted

by the queen, letters patent "For the inhabiting and planting an English colony in America." One of the ships, the Falcon, was commanded by Walter Raleigh, then twenty-six years old, but the undertaking proved abortive, though under the command of two of England's bravest and most accomplished sons.

Another scheme, however, had been under consideration by Sir Francis Walsingham, the astute Secretary of Elizabeth, who doubtless desired to gather direct knowledge through a trusty servant of the northern part of America, hence, shortly after Raleigh's return, a vessel under the charge of Simon Ferdinando, a Portuguese navigator, in the employ of the Secretary, set sail from Dartmouth to make a reconnoissance of the coast of Norumbega, which he successfully accomplished.

At the same time, Gilbert, who was making active preparations to renew his voyage, was obliged by orders from the Privy Council, of which Walsingham was a potent factor, to relinquish his undertaking. Sir Humphrey, however, not to be baffled, succeeded a few months later in sending a ship, under the charge of a trusty agent, to the same region. The name of the man was John Walker, and he explored the entrance of the Norumbega, as the Penobscot was then called, where, upon a hill nine leagues from the river's mouth, he found what he called a silver mine, and, obtaining "In an Indian house VII miles with in the lande from the ryvers side, IIIc drye hides,[1] whereof the most parte of them were eighteene foote

[1] Doubtless these were hides of the moose, *Alces Americanus*.

by the square," he set sail for home, which he reached after a quick run of seventeen days.

Raleigh, however, cherished the purpose of planting a colony in America, and, when his growing fortune enabled him to put this purpose into execution, he came to the aid of Gilbert, who was still striving to get materials together for his proposed colony, and who had been stimulated to new exertions by the successful voyages of Walker and others with whom he had personally conferred.

Gilbert also had the aid of Sir George Peckham, Sir Thomas Gerard, and other influential men, in this enterprise, and on the 11th day of June, 1583, with five vessels and two hundred and sixty men, Raleigh being detained at home by Elizabeth, he sailed from Cawsand Bay. In his former voyage Gilbert had suffered losses which crippled him, and he had struggled against almost insurmountable obstacles to equip his fleet. As it was, he was obliged to sail with an insufficient supply of provisions, and although his ultimate destination was the coast of Maine, he laid his course for Newfoundland, hoping to be able to supply his scanty stores from fishing vessels, which he might encounter, having a supply beyond their needs. On the 7th of July, seven weeks after leaving home, land was sighted. Reaching Conception Bay he found the Swallow, one of his ships, lost in the fog, and, sailing southward, entered the harbor of St. Johns on the 3d of August, where he found the Squirrel, another of his ships. Here he lost so many men from sickness and desertion, that he had not enough to navigate his

ships and he therefore decided to leave the Swallow behind to transport the sick home. On the 27th of August, Sir Humphrey sailed from the harbor of St. Johns with the Delight, the Golden Hind and Squirrel. Two days after sailing, the largest of his ships, the Delight, was driven ashore in a gale and lost with nearly all her crew. Finding it impracticable to continue his explorations to the coast of Maine, Sir Humphrey turned homeward, cheering his comrades with promises of a new expedition which should result in good for all. As the ships passed north of the Azores they encountered heavy seas, and on the night of the 9th of September, the Squirrel foundered, bearing to destruction the brave Gilbert and her crew. Thirteen days later, the Golden Hind, the only remaining ship of the fleet, battered and well nigh disabled, entered the port of Falmouth.

During the remainder of the sixteenth century we have no account of voyages of exploration to the northeastern shores of the New World, either by French or English.

On March 25, 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold sailed from Falmouth in a small ship, named the Concord, with thirty-two persons, eight of whom were mariners. A portion of these were to remain in the country "for population." His landfall was north of Massachusetts Bay. Sailing southward he passed Cape Cod and came to an island which he named after Queen Elizabeth, and there erected a small fort and storehouse for his proposed settlement; but, while he was loading his ship with sassafras, cedar

and other commodities obtained by traffic with the savages, many of the colonists became homesick, and in the end the settlement was abandoned and all returned home.[1]

Another expedition for the purpose of discovering a northwest passage to India commanded by George Waymouth was dispatched by the East India Company, May 2, of the same year. Taking a course far to the north and encountering many dangers, Waymouth abandoned his undertaking and made his way back to England.

A relation of Gosnold's voyage describing the country in glowing terms was published upon his return home awakening a fresh interest in the new country and certain of the "Chiefest merchants of Bristol" fitted out two vessels, the Speedwell and Discoverer, under command of Martin Pring, which sailed from Milford Haven, April 10, 1603. On the 15th of the previous month Champlain sailed on his first voyage to Canada, the scene of the exploits of his noted countryman, Jacques Cartier, and the following year settled a French colony on an island, which he named St. Croix, near the present town of Calais, Maine. Having suffered the loss of many of

[1] The Earl of Southampton, the patron and friend of Shakespeare, was also a patron of Gosnold in this voyage, and the Rev. Edward Everett Hale calls attention to the resemblance of passages in "The Tempest" and the description of the landing at Cuttyunk by Gosnold. Mr. Hale supposes Shakespeare to have heard this description and used it in his play, and concludes his interesting article on the subject by saying that Shakespeare was "Describing an island which is in communication with the vexed Bermoothes; yet there is no allusion to an orange, a banana, a yam or a potato, a feather cloak or a palm tree, or a pineapple or a monkey or a parrot, or anything else which refers to the Gulf of Mexico or the tropics. Does not this seem as if he meant that the local color of "The Tempest" should be that which was suggested by the gentlemen adventurers and the seamen who were talking of Cuttyhunk, its climate and productions, as they told traveller's stories up and down in London."

his colonists during the severe winter which followed their arrival in the new country, he explored the coast toward the south in the summer of 1605, but finally removed his shattered colony to the north establishing it at a place named by him Port Royal, now known as Annapolis. In June, 1603, Pring was off the coast of Maine, which he explored, noting the fine forests and innumerable animals with which the country abounded. Being desirous of obtaining a supply of sassafras he shaped his course to Massachusetts Bay, where he loaded the Discoverer with the commodity he was seeking and dispatched her for England, following himself later and reaching England, October 2d.

The meeting of the Society to-night is the tercentenary celebration of this voyage of Pring, to whom we must accord an honorable place among the renowned seamen of the Elizabethan Age, and whose name will forever adorn the early pages of our history. While Pring himself never led a colony here, his explorations of the coast, and the careful charts which he made and exhibited to Gorges and others on his return to England, explaining to them the fertility of the soil which he had tested by planting seeds, and the many advantages which the country offered to colonial enterprise, were of great importance in stimulating them to undertake the settlement of the country. Many years, however, elapsed before a permanent colony was founded within the present limits of Maine. In the brief review which I have given of voyages to our northern

shores I have spoken chiefly of French and English enterprises, because after the voyage of Gomez we have no accounts of Spanish or Portuguese voyages thither; but we know that many vessels went annually to Newfoundland and adjacent waters to fish and traffic with the natives, and there can be no doubt that voyages for discovery and exploration were made by Spain who claimed the entire territory as her own. The publication of such discoveries, however, was not allowed. Nor is there doubt that the coast of Maine was familiar to adventurers long before Pring's voyage. Kohl, we know, expresses his belief that the savages captured for slaves by Cortereal in 1502, came from the coast of Maine, and we know that the Penobscot appears on the chart of Gomez in 1525. Yet we have no evidences of occupation during the sixteenth century. Gosnold's and Pring's voyages, however, with Waymouth's voyage to the coast of Maine which followed, mark the beginning of the movement towards the colonization of New England. I have thought that a brief account of the voyages to our northern coast, preceding those of Gosnold and Pring, would be a fitting introduction to the subject which is to be presented to the Society on this very interesting occasion.

CAPTAIN MARTIN PRING, LAST OF THE ELIZABETHAN SEAMEN

BY PROF. ALFRED L. P. DENNIS

A paper read on November 19, 1903, before the Maine Historical Society at a meeting commemorative of the tercentenary of Martin Pring's first voyage to America

In the year 1603, Captain Martin Pring of Bristol, England, sailed westward to this coast and, after spending some weeks in Whitson Bay, now Plymouth Harbor in Massachusetts, returned to England with a shipload of sassafras. By many students this voyage has been remarked chiefly because seventeen years later the Mayflower, driven from her course by storms, dropped anchor in the same waters where formerly Captain Pring had found both safety and profit. Such lovers of coincidence have sought to give to Captain Pring's achievement merely an introductory character, to credit him with sagacity in the choice of a harbor only because other men of wider fame were later compelled by the will of the winds to the same harbor. In short these Greek givers would notice and praise Captain Pring for something he could neither help nor hinder, and thus would bury his rightful glory beneath borrowed laurels; by so doing

they in reality deny him substantive value and make his fame a poor *ex post facto* affair, at the mercy of every judicial reader.

Such unearned honors and such unnecessary claims to notice, Captain Pring himself would be the first to reject; for he could well cite better title to commemoration than mere coincidence. This better title is to be found in the record of his life work, and that not only because of what he did but also because his career is itself a mirror to his times, because in him are displayed the working of forces which were to give substance and character to the course of English history.

I feel the readier to recall to your minds the story of his life, as far as it can be known to-day, because from your vantage ground you have already seen the truth of my contention. To declare the honor of Martin Pring by a commemorative meeting is proof that this Society is fulfilling those functions, both delightful and valuable, which especially pertain to an association by name singular yet by interests universal. For it is the good fortune of such societies to stand where the path broadens to the highway, to point the traveller down the country lane to the hamlet whose life will show the deep rootages of ancient custom and local habit, or to give him direction along the avenue where a new nation has but just passed. Such a position accommodates itself to the story I have to tell of a man by whom small matters were well ordered and brought forth, yet who on occasion was able to effect those greater deeds which enrich

the memory and enliven the hope of our inherited history. I shall speak to you this evening of Captain Martin Pring, last of the Elizabethan seamen, adventurer in both hemispheres for the glory and gain of England.[1]

I.

First, however, I must speak of the England which gave birth to Martin Pring, of the manner of men he had for his example, of their purpose and endeavor made evident in action and of the spirit which must have been bred in him by the events of his time, that we may the better judge how well this Benjamin,

[1] BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE. The materials for this paper are much scattered. We have brief records made either by Captain Pring or by some scribe at his direction of the voyage to America in 1603 and of voyages to the East Indies in 1614 and 1617. To reinforce and check these we have also several notices in contemporary sources, to wit, for the first American voyage a summary statement by Purchas and a bare record preserved by Captain John Smith of Robert Salterne's short relation of the same. For the Guiana voyage in 1604 there exist a letter of Charles Leigh to his brother, Sir Olive Leigh, and the relation of Master John Wilson, who was also concerned in that unfortunate venture. The character of the second American voyage (1606) is explained by letters and a narration of Captain Challons, who was to have been Pring's partner in colonization on that occasion, by writings of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, by Strachey in his "Historie of Travaile into Virginia" and by the "Brief Relation of the President and Council for New England," published in 1622. The story of Pring's services in the employ of the East India Company is given in the records of his fellow-sailors, notably in the diary of Captain Nicholas Downton and in the relation of Master John Hatch, both of the Company's service; the despatches and diary of Sir Thomas Roe, British envoy and resident at the court of the Mughal Emperor, Jahangir, are valuable, as are also the papers of the Company, and other official documents to be found in the Calendar of State Papers. The only evidence concerning a third voyage to America is the will of one Miles Prickett, a baker, who died near Canterbury, England, in 1626 or 1627. The secondary sources which deserve special notice are few; they consist chiefly of brief biographical notices in Brown's "Genesis of the United States," in the "Dictionary of National Biography" and in a pamphlet by Dr. James Pring of Plymouth, England, published in 1888. Articles in several periodicals and in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History" are of varying merit; those by Dr. De Costa, however, are valuable for disputed matters in early American discovery. On close examination the whole sifts to comparatively little of determined value. Many gaps remain and much may still be open to debate; but no attempt has been made to proceed beyond the limit set by the evidence available. A bibliography of titles cited will be found at the close of the paper.

youngest and last of the breed, gave sign of the stock from which he sprang.

At the start of his essay "Of the True Greatness of the Kingdom of Britain" Sir Francis Bacon wisely says: "The just measure and estimate of the forces and power of an estate is a matter, than the which there is nothing among civil affairs more subject to error, nor that error more subject to perilous consequence."[1] It would have been easy indeed to mistake the measure of England's power in the year when Martin Pring was born, for in 1580 modern England was approaching the first great crisis of her life. Not again till the day of Louis XIV or of Napoleon were the vital forces of the state to be so vehemently attacked from abroad. It is true that men were to dispute the nature of sovereignty and its proper location in the nation; men were to make petitions, grand remonstrances, solemn covenants and declarations of right; one king was to die for his prerogative and another was to lose his throne for his faith and conduct, yet throughout the long struggle of the seventeenth century the existence of England as an independent nation was never so vitally at stake as in the years when Martin Pring was coming to youth.

Later Montesquieu was to write of the English as the people who above all others had known best how to "profit simultaneously by three great forces — religion, commerce and liberty."[2] For the problems which troubled England in 1580 were not of one category;

[1] Bacon: "Works," VII, p. 47.

[2] "*Esprit des lois*," l. XX, c. 7.

nor did each stand separate ; rather did politics, religion and economics form an equilateral, inseparable and fundamental, on which modern England was to rise a free, Protestant and maritime power.

In the opening years of Elizabeth's rule there stood foremost the question of religion, disastrous legacy of earlier reigns. On the one hand was a body of Catholic bishops holding manfully to ancient dogma and tradition and attempting a loyal fealty to both Papal tiara and royal crown. On the other hand were those divines whom an exile on the continent, enforced by Mary's persecutions, had innoculated with a Calvinism hitherto foreign to English minds. Between the two was the great bulk of the English people. These " wished for a national church, independent of Rome, with simple services, not too unlike those to which they had been accustomed " before the will of Henry VIII had swept the church into the employ of his passions. Some must be dissatisfied whatever solution be finally attained of the problem thus propounded. One thing, however, was certain — Papal jurisdiction could not be revived in the domain of a queen to be adjudged illegitimate and heretical by Papal Europe. Another thing was desirable — namely, to proceed with such leisurely liberty as might allow men to compose their minds to a regime of discussion without animosity, yet with such order and sympathy that both ecclesiastical continuity and religious consciousness might find one roof to shelter them. For the nation had a conservative belief in God and wished opportunity and place to express that

belief. The England of Elizabeth was a religious if not a pious country. Men might trade in slaves, range the seas as pirates, speak and write broadly, yet they rarely forgot to commend their souls to God or to thank Him who, in the words of Hawkins, the slave-trader, "preserveth his elect." Elizabeth knew her people well and nursed them in religious matters with the hope that a Catholic might still remain a patriot, though England might never again be Roman.[1]

Despite the tortuous negotiations concerning her marriage and the succession to the throne Elizabeth emerged from them surrounded by a "personal loyalty of unswerving devotion" on the part of men who conceived it their greatest pleasure to be the "instrument of her glory," their highest honor to merit her approval and their gravest duty to unite in enthusiastic association to defend her person. By the spirit thus inspired men did things with a dash that had much of a swagger; they learned to die with a grand manner. All England was ready to go crusading with Spenser in the name of the Faerie Queen. Sir Walter Raleigh as he entered Cadiz harbor and "all the Spanish forts and ships opened fire on him at once scorned to shoot a gun and made answer with a flourish of insulting trumpets." Again the Earl of Essex when the news reached him that the attack on Cadiz had been decided threw his hat overboard for pure joy, as a school boy would toss his hat in the air at the news of a holiday. Yet Essex was a peer of

[1] Creighton: "Queen Elizabeth," pp. 47-49, *et passim*.

the realm, a man of great possessions, who was to be allowed to risk his life.[1] Sir Richard Grenville of the Revenge furnishes, perhaps, in the manner of his dying, the best example of them all. After his fight with the Spaniards off the Azores, at odds of one to fifty-three, crying at the end, in the words of the ballad

> "'I have fought for Queen and Faith like a valliant man and true;
> I have only done my duty as a man is bound to do:
> With a joyful spirit I Sir Richard Grenville die.'
> And he fell upon their decks, and he died."

Against the personal charm and beauty of Mary Stuart, against the conspiracies of those Catholics to whom civil obedience was less than religious fanaticism, against fears of Jesuit assassination and of foreign invasion, Elizabeth had to match all the capacity of her mind, all the wisdom of her temporizing policy, and at the last to rest on the patience, affection and bravery of her people. And surely that patience was sorely tried by those outbreaks of petulant cruelty, of wayward despotism, by that practise of parsimony and hesitating compromise which checker her reputation. At times politics sank to a "low level of absurdity" because of her wavering policy; yet at the crisis of her reign, when not only her fate but possibly the course of English history were in the balance, the entire nation rallied to her support and to the defence of the state. For the religious question, linked as it was to that of Elizabeth's marriage and the succession to the crown, had found a stern solution

[1] Cf. Stevenson's Essay on the "English Admirals" in "*Virginibus Puerisque*;" and Creighton: "Queen Elizabeth," *passim*.

in the political difficulties which became clear to all in 1580. In that year, with Papal approval and Spanish furtherance, a plan was made to attack England through Ireland, through Scotland, and through conspiracy at home. The defeat of these endeavors and the execution of Mary Stuart cleared the way for the greater Spanish attack, the Invincible Armada.

And here the economic interest, long efficient in the affairs of the nation, becomes essential to the course of events. Under its stimulus politics rediscovered an old trinity, that of commerce, colonies and sea-power. For in the Tudor period a great change took place in the material life of England. Where men had formerly planted crops they now pastured sheep, whose wool was to busy increasing looms. Where once Walter of Henley had written a "Treatise on Husbandry" John Hales now published a "Discourse on the Common Weal." Hakluyt was compiling the "Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation," and a few years later Thomas Mun was to defend and spread a new theory of national economy by writing his "Discourse of Trade" and "England's Treasure by Forraign Trade."[1] During the sixteenth century the place long held by manorial agriculture was suffering encroachment

[1] Walter of Henley: "Le Dite de Hosebondrie" (edited by Lamond), London, 1890. Written during the XIII century. Cf. "Royal Hist. Soc. Trans." 1895, IX pp. 215-21. J. Hales: "A discourse of the common weal of this realm of England," (edited by Lamond), Cambridge, 1893. Written 1549; first published 1581. Cf. Cunningham in "Econ. Jour." December, 1893. Hakluyt's first edition appeared in 1589; the completed work was printed 1599-1600. Mun: "A Discourse of Trade from England unto the East Indies," was printed in 1621 and republished in Purchas, Vol. I; "England's Treasure by Forraign Trade" was not published, however, till 1664.

by new national industrial and commercial interests; and the domestic economy of mediæval England was disappearing as the establishment of capital transformed the relations of land and labor. Great vistas were opening dimly to merchants in whom imagination and a spirit of adventure had been bred.

The craft guilds, weakened by internal divisions and external changes, were surrendering the control of industry itself into the hands of the government. Enactments such as the Statute of Apprentices (1563) became part of a legislative code whose rationale "was the deliberate pursuit of national power." Foreign commerce, once intermunicipal, became international. Chartered companies traded to all parts, each, however, under supervision and with carefully defined privileges or spheres of monopoly.[1] An economic theory arose which, overlooking subtler laws of credit, regarded a flourishing export trade and a treasure store at home as essential signs of national prosperity and safety. Shipbuilding and the training of sailors became a national occupation; and soon Bacon was to write that the "vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great . . . . . because the wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessory to the command of the seas."[2]

To draw to England, whether by arms or trade, the riches of America and Asia, became, therefore, a principle of the national economy. There followed

[1] Cf. Cunningham: "Growth of English Industry and Commerce" (Modern Times, pt. 2) Section VI, parts 1 and 2.

[2] Bacon: "Works," VI, p. 451.

naturally the establishment of plantations and factories. Yet this system was not developed in a year; and I have gone beyond the limits of Elizabeth's reign to show you to what purpose this policy was destined. Our concern is with the evolution of this system rather than with its completion or full operation; our special interest lies with the men who supported, indeed created, this policy. For as pioneers of trade and colonization, as forerunners of companies and corporations, there came men, half statesman, half pirate, who by their personal endeavors were to lay the foundations of England's greatness as an industrial and commercial power.

These Elizabethan seamen had been raiding to the Antipodes and the Spanish Main and plundering Spanish ships to such purpose that when the day of trial came Elizabeth found ready to her hand a fleet manned by crews, anxious to face the unequal odds offered by the Spanish Armada and able to assist the elements in a victory of supreme importance to our race. For a new England grew out of that great struggle, and the Queen, who had found the country "dispirited, divided and uncertain" saw toward the close of her reign a proud, united and confident people, possessed by a sense of national self-consciousness, which was to mark the age with a freshness and vigor all its own. The new England had found itself.

II.

Martin Pring was eight years old when the men of his race and in particular the men of his own shire,

Devon, went out to meet the Spanish fleet; he was eleven when Sir Richard Grenville won death and everlasting glory in his fight off the Azores. As he came to manhood the older men were telling their tales of wild raids and rich plunder; but the younger men talked of the new companies formed for the Russia, the Levant, the Barbary and the Guinea trades, of prospects of further discoveries, of colonization and of commerce; yet young and old alike familiar with the Spanish Main and curious for the Spice Islands and the Norumbega shore. Small wonder then that Pring chose the sea; but greater honor that amid such competition as the period forced he soon won his way to command. He gained the confidence of Richard Hakluyt, compiler of the "prose epic of the modern English nation," and of John Whitson, twice mayor of Bristol and four times member of Parliament, and thus the patronage of the Merchant Adventurers of Bristol. This was manifest when at the age of twenty-three Captain Pring was placed in charge of a venture to Virginia. It was in 1603, the year in which Francis Bacon was knighted and William Shakespere's play, the "Taming of the Shrew," was first enacted. In this year also the Queen died, as if for sign that a new age in English history was at hand.[1]

[1] The Russia or Muscovy Co. was chartered in 1554; the Eastland Co. in 1579; the Levant or Turkey Co. in 1581; the Barbary or Morocco Co. in 1585; the first Guinea Co. in 1588; and the East India Co. in 1600. Cf. Cunningham: op. cit. "Modern Times" pt. I, pp. 234 *et seq.*; Cawston and Keane: "Early Chartered Companies." On the commerce and importance of Bristol at this time see Anderson: "Origin of Commerce," II, pp. 48, 106, 151-52. For biographical sketches of Whitson and Pring see "Dictionary of National Biography," and Brown: "Genesis of U. S.", II, pp. 972, 1052. Cf. also Pring: "Captaine Martin Pringe," p. 8. Martin Pring was probably born in the parish of Awliscombe near Honiton, Devon, in 1580.

Voyages to Virginia were large matters in those days; but Captain Pring, as the record reads, was regarded as "a man very sufficient for the place." His destination was to be the northern part of Virginia, Norumbega as some called it, where during the century past some half a dozen known discoveries had been made by Englishmen. In 1527 John Rut had seen off Newfoundland a flock of French fishing-vessels; and later John Hore of London had sailed after him. Thirty years were to pass and Ingram by his fantastic tales of a city of silver and crystal on the Penobscot gave the New England region the reputation of the land of Eldorado. Others followed and soon Sir Humphrey Gilbert, that flower of Elizabethan chivalry, gave up his life in an attempt to plant in Norumbega. A year after that melancholy event, in 1584, the Queen was pleased, as the result of a voyage by Amidas and Barlow to the southern coast, to name the whole region Virginia for herself and to bestow in conjunction with Parliament an ample patent for that country upon Sir Walter Raleigh. Then the struggle with Spain came on to engross English energies; the Atlantic became the scene of a vast naval struggle; and within four years the Spaniards had lost 800 ships. But a further attempt to plant in Virginia had again failed.

Yet many vessels had in the meantime crossed the ocean to the Banks to fish and to the mainland to get furs. Finally with larger purpose came Gosnold in 1602 and with him Bartholomew Gilbert. Their voyage led them in accordance with Verrazano's directions

by the direct passage to the main; then turning southward they made Cape Cod and at last Cuttyhunk in the Elizabeth Islands. With a store of sassafras root and cedar boards they returned to England only to lose their profits at the hands of Sir Walter Raleigh, promoter and monopolist. For he claimed the venture as an infringement of his patent, protesting also that the sudden dumping on the market of a full cargo of the root would greatly lower the price, which at that time ranged as high as twenty shillings the pound. This unauthorized attempt to plunder had for our purposes one merit in that, profiting by such example, the Bristol merchants, who were to father Pring's endeavors, first secured a license for the venture from Sir Walter. Further, Robert Salterne, who had been pilot to Gosnold, was engaged to go with Pring.[1]

The account of this first voyage made by Pring to America, as published in Purchas, though credited to Pring is obviously not all by the same hand. In the first two paragraphs and the last Pring is referred to in the third person; and his own statements begin only with the departure from Milford Haven on April 10 and do not include the record of the home voyage. It seems probable that the relation reached Purchas

[1] Winsor: "Narrative and Critical History," III, pp. 169-218, especially pp. 173-174, 188-189. Pring: "Captaine Martin Pringe," pp. 16-18. Brown: op. cit. I, p. 26: II., pp. 896, 904; and "Dictionary of Nat. Biog.," see Gosnold, B. Gilbert and Pring. Brereton's and Archer's relation of Gosnold's voyage are in "Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll." 3rd series, VIII. Cf. De Costa in "Mag. of Am. Hist.," X, p. 146. One only of Gosnold's party saved his share by entering Raleigh's service; this was not Gosnold as Dr. De Costa has it, but Bartholomew Gilbert who in the year following lost his life in Chesapeake Bay. The statements in Bancroft: "Hist. of U. S.," (Orig. ed.), I, pp. 129-30, in Palfrey: "Hist. of New Eng.," I, pp. 73-75, and in Belknap: "Am. Biog.," II, pp. 228-37, appear to be in need of correction.

among Hakluyt's papers. There was also a Dutch abstract made of it by Gottfried and published by Van der Aa; this edition was embellished by a copper plate representing an Indian attack. The mistaken geographical interpretations which once obscured the history of this voyage have now been corrected and the identification with Plymouth Harbor of Whitson Bay, as Pring called his final haven in honor of the mayor of Bristol, has been so successfully accomplished by Dr. De Costa that it need not detain us at present.[1]

The expedition consisted of two ships, the Speedwell of fifty tons and the Discoverer of half that burthen, the two manned by less than fifty crew; they were laden with "slight merchandizes thought fit to trade with the people of the Countrey," hats of divers colors, clothing, tools and lesser toys — beads and bells, looking-glasses and thimbles. By the voyagers the beauties of the Maine coast were well remarked, the value of the fisheries and of the lumber; but though small explorations were made in Casco Bay, the main purpose was not secured till good sassafras was found within Cape Cod. Here experiments in agriculture were made to discover the excellent quality of soil and climate, the abundance of fruit being a special cause of satisfaction. Here the Indians were seen first, dances were given for them, and all went well till near the end when a treacherous attack

[1] In addition to materials noted under the last footnote the main sources for this voyage are in Purchas: "His Pilgrimes," IV, pp. 1654-56; V., p. 829. Salterne's relation is given in J. Smith: "General Historie of Virginia," (Arber's reprint), p. 336. Cf. De Costa in "Mag. of Am. Hist.," VIII, pp. 807 *et seq.*, 840, *et seq.*, and in "New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.," XXXII, pp. 76 *et seq.*

on the voyagers was attempted. On this occasion two great mastiffs brought from England were useful in dispersing the savages. The sassafras root with which both ships were laden was highly esteemed at this time in England as a remedy for serious plagues and fever and was sometimes called the ague root. By October all were safely home, bringing profit and information to the patrons of the venture.

Voyages such as this showed that the day of Hawkins and Drake had passed for America; that the buccaneers were becoming merchants; that plantations would soon take the place of piracy and that a new England bent on commercial advancement and colonial expansion was now in the making. Indeed, what may possibly be direct indication of this change is to be found in the use by Pring of the Speedwell, a west of England pinnace. A vessel of the same name and tonnage, hailing from the same part of England, was in Sir Francis Drake's fleet employed by him in 1587 for that characteristic raid in Cadiz, which he described as "singeing the beard of the King of Spain." Furthermore Drake had under his command in the fight with the Armada in the next year a ship of approximately the same tonnage, also called the Speedwell, Hugh Hardinge, Master, apparently one of many merchantmen which either were volunteered or were chartered for special service. It seems fair to assume that the same boat is referred to in 1587 and 1588 and if so the question of her identity with Pring's ship becomes the more interesting. In any event, that two or perhaps three ships whose similarity is so

marked as to suggest possible identity should have been put to this variety of employment within sixteen years (1587-1603) is significant of the change taking place in all England.[1]

Pring's next great voyage was to the Guiana coast in 1604 as master in the Phœnix of Charles Leigh's ill-fated expedition. In turning thus from Virginia to Guiana Pring gives further proof of his lineage. For Sir Walter Raleigh was to show the interests of his time by likewise transferring his ventures from the Chesapeake to the Orinoco. Pring was drawn in the later Elizabethan manner. Those of you who are fortunate enough to retain clear memories of "Westward Ho!" that finest of Elizabethan tales, will recall the dangers and privations endured by the wanderers in South American forests. To such the story of the reckless yet gallant ventures, the terrible sufferings and pitiful rescue of Charles Leigh's party, will afford an interesting parallel. It is all written out in the fourth volume of Purchas. Pring, however, showed himself to be more sensible if less loyal than others; for when he found that despite of the climate, the lack of victuals and the desperate character of the endeavor, Leigh was firm to colonize, he led a party in mutiny and finally was quit of the whole matter by

[1] Laughton: "The Spanish Armada," II, pp. 182, 326. The variations in measurement of tonnage make it possible to disregard a difference of ten tons, p. 323. Clowes: "Hist. of Royal Navy," I, pp. 423, 487, 591. Corbett: "Drake and the Tudor Navy," II, p. 68 n. Oppenheim: "Adm. of the Royal Navy," pp. 120, 123, 139, 160, 163, 202, 203, 214, 251 n. The two pinnaces mentioned in the text should not be confused with the galley Speedwell, built at Woolwich in 1559 and carried on the navy list till 1579, nor with the 400-ton Speedwell to be found on the navy list of James I; she was formerly the Swiftsure, rebuilt in 1607, but was lost near Flushing in November, 1624. The use of private vessels by the government was frequent; in 1588 there were 163 not on the royal navy list but either in pay or in use for the struggle in the Channel.

sailing home in an Amsterdam ship that chanced on that coast. The rest of the party were with difficulty persuaded to remain, and within two years Leigh himself and many more were dead of disease and want; others were in Spanish prisons, and less than a dozen out of the whole ship's company returned direct to England.[1]

These events, however, did not in any way affect Pring's reputation, if we may judge of it by his next employment. This was at the hands of Sir John Popham, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. At his appointment Pring was to make a second voyage to North America and to spend some weeks in a careful examination of the Maine coast. The purpose of this expedition, moreover, was no mere matter of cedar boards or sassafras root. It resulted in fact from a carefully reasoned plan of colonization bred in the mind of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Governor of Plymouth, by earnest talk held by him with certain Pemaquid Indians. These Captain Waymouth had brought back in 1605 from St. George's Harbor. As Sir Ferdinando later wrote — these savages were "the means, under God, of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations."[2]

[1] Purchas: IV, pp. 1253 *et seq.*, 1260. Cf. Brown: op. cit., I, p. 27; II, p. 937. A relief expedition sent in 1605 by Sir Olive Leigh to his brother, Captain Charles Leigh, in Guiana, never reached there. Capt. Leigh died March 20, 1605. On July 2 he had written to the Privy Council in England that he was "resolved to remain with 40 men and return the rest for England. The natives desire that he will send for men to teach them to pray. Doubts not but God hath a wonderful work in this simple-hearted people. Beseeches the Council to send over well-disposed preachers." Cal. State Papers, Colonial, America: Vol. I, (1574-1660) p. 5.

[2] Gorges: "Advancement of Plantations," p. 50. For Waymouth see "Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.," 3rd series, VIII; Burrage in "Gorges Soc. Publ.," 1887. For Popham see "Dict. of Nat. Biog." and Brown: op. cit., II, p. 969.

As a preliminary private colonization was abandoned, and in April, 1606, a charter passed the royal seals for the incorporation of two companies to colonize in Virginia. For the "plantation and habitation" of the northern part of Virginia, as the charter reads, "sundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants and other Adventurers of our cities of Bristol and Exeter, and of our Town of Plimouth" were empowered to send out an expedition.[1] Sir John Popham, who had himself probably drawn the first draft of this charter, chose in October of the same year, Captain Martin Pring, a Devonshire man, to join in this Devonshire venture and to make a voyage to America. There Pring was to meet Captain Challons (or Challoung), who had already sailed in August with special directions from Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Together they were to choose a site for the new colony. These arrangements, however, miscarried; for Challons failed to reach the rendezvous. He had been instructed to cross to Cape Breton and then to follow the coast southward till he should find a suitable location and meet with Pring near the entrance to Penobscot Bay. But contrary winds forced him from the northern routes to the West Indies; after several delays at Porto Rico his ship was seized by the Spanish authorities and he and a part of his ship's company were carried prisoners to Spain.[2]

[1] MacDonald: "Select Charters," pp. 1-11.

[2] Purchas: IV, pp. 1832 *et seq.*; "Cal. State Papers," Col. Am., Vol. I, (1574-1660) p. 6; Brown: op. cit., I, pp. 64, 96, 98, 127. Strachey in his "Historie of Travaille into Virginia," p. 163, is responsible for the statement that Pring was captured by the Spanish, thus confusing Challons and Pring.

Captain Pring, on the other hand, who had the same instructions as did Challons, happily arrived on the Maine coast. He had with him one of Waymouth's Indians, Damheda by name; and not hearing by any means what had become of Challons he began to explore. To quote again from Gorges: Pring "after he had made a perfect discovery of all those rivers and harbors he was informed of by his instructions, (the season of the year requiring his return) brings with him the most exact discovery of that coast that ever came to my hands since; and indeed he was the best able to perform it of any I ever met withal to this present, which with his relation of the same wrought such an impression in the Lord Chief Justice and us all that were his associates that notwithstanding our first disaster we set up our resolutions to follow it with effect and that upon better grounds for as yet our authority was but in motion."[1] Earlier in the "Brief Relation of the President and Council of New England" [1622] a similar statement had been made, to wit — that on hearing Pring's relation of this voyage "the lord chief justice, and we all waxed so confident of the business, that the year following (1607) every man of any worth formerly interested in it was willing to join in the charge for the sending over a competent number of people to lay the ground of a hopeful plantation."[2] As the result, therefore, of Pring's encouraging information and despite Challons' failure, Sir John Popham "failed

[1] Gorges: "Advancement of Plantations," pp. 51-53.

[2] "Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.," 2nd Series, IX, p. 3.

not to interest many of the lords and others to be petitioners to his Majesty for his royal authority, for setting two plantations upon the coast of America."[1] What success this further attempt to colonize in Maine met with I leave to the historians of the Sagadahoc settlement to relate.

For our purposes let me point out to you, first, that it was only because Challons failed to obey his orders that Pring was unable to share in the honor of founding the first English settlement on the mainland of New England; second, that failing this, Pring was nevertheless the instrument by which the plan gained perseverence to another attempt; and lastly, that in the opinion of Gorges, writing many years later out of a full experience of men and affairs, Pring was of all the men of that manly time the ablest in discovery and relation. This relation unfortunately has been lost, but other explorers made use of it, for on a map drawn by the King's surveyor in 1610 are many places marked by virtue of Pring's knowledge. His name of Whitson Bay is shown thereon, for it was not till four years later that the Dutch suggested Crane Bay and Captain John Smith fixed on Plymouth Harbor as a name for the roadstead first discovered in 1603 by their predecessor, the Bristol captain.[2]

III.

If all this be so you may well ask why we hear nothing more of Captain Pring in the further exploration

[1] Gorges: op. cit., p. 53.

[2] De Costa in "Mag. Am. Hist.," VIII, pp. 555 *et seq.*; Brown: op. cit., I, pp. 99, 457-59.

and colonization of New England. The answer is to be found in the widening interests of Englishmen. The partial closing of the old trade routes between Asia and Europe during the fifteenth century and the burdensome restrictions and costly tariffs laid on eastern trade had well nigh precipitated an economic crisis. Asiatic trade had for centuries been one of the most profitable as well as one of the most extensive of commercial investments; and the supply of spices from the oriental tropics had become a necessity both for the preservation of food and to render it palatable to the gastronomic taste of Europe. The northern peoples do not seem to have been attracted by the possibilities of unseasoned vegetarianism; and fashion of flavors as well as the lack of satisfactory methods of refrigeration in southern Europe made the situation there even more acute. Nor did the prospect grow better as the close of the century came nearer. For while the Ottoman advance had partially closed the routes which opened on the Black and Ægean Seas, the unsettled condition of Syria made trade uncertain by the Persian routes. The Red Sea route, so long the golden channel of Muslim monopoly, might have sufficed had it not been for the mistaken policy of the independent Mamluk sultans of Egypt. As early as 1428 these inaugurated a heavy tariff on oriental goods bound for Italian ports and made pepper a state monopoly. Other spices were soon added and even sugar was subjected to close growth and manufacture. By 1443 the opinions of the theological jurists of Cairo

had been secured in defence of the system; and to-day it seems doubtful whether the Ottoman conquest of Egyptian dominions (1516-17) had immediately much worse results for this intercontinental trade than had already followed the policy of the Circassian dynasty.[1]

These facts were in large part responsible for the rapid geographical advance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The disappearance of domestic economy and the restoration of capitalism required larger fields for investment and at the same time urged on the search for new supplies of bullion. While these operated generally the geographical situation, the religious feeling and the traditional political policy of Portugal were such as to make the success of her sailors in African waters a natural sequent to her history. The stimulus thus derived

[1] For suggestive comment on the spice trade *vide* Robinson: "Western Europe," p. 348. The economic policy of the Mamluk sovereigns is referred to in Muir: "The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt," pp. 142, 153. Though of uncertain value because of changes in money values, the price of pepper in England is worth noting: 1412, pepper was 4s. a pound, though in 1411 Parliament had fixed the price at 1s. 8d. In this year a pound of standard silver was worth £1 10s. 0d. (Cotton: "Abridgement," p. 482; Walshingham, p. 381, quoted by Macpherson: "Annals," IV, App. II and III). In 1512 with silver about 10s. a pound higher, pepper was 1s. 4d. In 1559 it was 2d. an ounce and silver was at £3; in 1598 near Christmas, pepper was 8s. a pound (Stowe: "Annales," p. 130). Between 1597 and 1599 the Dutch had raised the price from 3 to 6s. a pound on pepper which probably had not cost more than 6d. Macpherson: "Commerce with India," pp. 77, 82; Birdwood: "Old Records" (ed. 1891), p. 199; Hunter: "British India," I, pp. 241, 279. I have chosen pepper because it was one of the cheapest spices but very generally used. The rapid rise in the price of pepper at the close of the sixteenth century is paralleled by that of other more expensive spices. It is evident that both Macpherson and Birdwood believe it was the immediate cause of the meetings on September 22 and 24, 1599, of certain London merchants which led to the chartering of a British East India Co. Cf. Stevens: "Dawn of British Trade," pp. 1-7. Both the influence of English participation in the spice trade and the great profit from it can be seen from the prices given by Malynes in his "Center of the Circle of Commerce" (1623) quoted by Cawston and Keane: "Chartered Companies," p. 96.

	Cost in the Indies per lb.	Sold in England per lb.
Pepper	0s. 2½d.	1s. 8d.
Cloves	0 9	5 0
Nutmegs	0 4	3 0
Mace	0 8	6 0

carried them to a greater achievement by the end of the fifteenth century and once in Asiatic waters they were able to deprive the Arabs of the monopoly of the spice trade. At the same time the Portuguese did not attempt the distribution of oriental products in Europe. The profitable trade of the middleman fell to the Dutch. It followed that the submersion of Portuguese interests in those of Spain aroused both Dutch and English to a further realization of the limitations they had hitherto endured. While the independent search for northeastern and northwestern passages to the East was not abandoned, the desire to use the Cape of Good Hope route closed to determination by the end of the sixteenth century. The search under Spanish auspices for a free route to Asia had already led to an unintentional and for a time unconscious discovery of America, as the new world was afterwards called. But Europe then fronted not to the Atlantic but to Asia; for many years men were to seek the "backside of America" where lay the "Kingdomes of Cataya or China"; and in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign the chartering of the East India Company marked the inauguration of a policy, which though new in form, was intimately related with many of the previous American ventures. English merchants now asked for more than uncertain piracy in the West; they hoped to develop a regular commercial intercourse with the East.[1]

[1] The instructions of the East India Co. to Waymouth in April, 1602, for his American voyage in search of a passage to Asia, contain the following passage — "or as he shall fynde the Passage best to lye towards the parts or kingedomes of Cataya or China or ye backside of America." Stevens: "Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies," p. 212.

Were all the other years of Elizabeth's reign a blank in our history, the granting of the charter for the East India Company would nevertheless make her reign a landmark in the history of the world. For this company, the greatest corporation the world has ever seen, was destined to work a change in modern world-politics to which that resulting from the establishment and development of the United States is alone comparable. Indeed the connection of these imperial merchants with the creation of English establishments in America is in some respects so close that it is surprising greater attention has not been given to it. Many whose names are familiar to students of our colonial period figure in the early operations of the British in Asia; and American ventures often served to train the men who were to lay the foundations of British Empire in the East. Among those who responded to this broadening of the field of British activities and thus transferred their interests from America to Asia was Captain Pring.

IV.

The exact year in which Pring entered the East India service is unknown. Possibly it was soon after the death, in 1607, of his former patron, the Lord Chief Justice. The first certain mention we find is of his appointment as master of a large new ship, in 1614. It is perhaps doubtful whether he would have got so important a post were that to be his first venture in Asiatic waters; however, no mention of him as going to sea under the auspices of any recognized

authority from 1606 to 1614 has been as yet discovered. Pring's new ship was the New Year's Gift, of 550 tons, "armed and strongly built for trade or war," bound then to India on her maiden voyage. She was to act as the flag of a squadron of four ships making in that year the first voyage of the newly-formed "joint stock."[1]

From 1600 to 1612 the trade of the East India Company had been carried on by a series of so-called separate voyages. One or more ships would be outfitted as a distinct venture and the accounts of each fleet would be kept separate. Such an expedition was theoretically complete in itself and on the return the profits of each venture were divided among those of the Company who had supplied the capital. In 1612, however, a system of joint stock subscriptions was proposed by which several voyages during a number of years were made possible by largely increased investments. The first attempt under this system resulted in a capitalization of £429,000 of which this first voyage of the joint stock represented an investment of £106,000. Eighteen thousand eight hundred and ten pounds in money and £12,446 in goods were exported; and the cost of ships, the maintenance, the supplies and the extraordinary expenses involved represented the remainder. While the average profit for four voyages, 1613-1616, was

[1] This voyage is sometimes called the second, and though it did not sail till 1614 is technically the "voyage of 1613." "Letters Received by the E. I. Co." III, pp. 175, 326; Markham: "Voyages of Sir James Lancaster," Hakluyt Soc. Publ., Vol. LVI, p. 15; Hunter: "Hist. British India," I, p. 307; "Cal. of State Papers, Colonial E. I., (1513-1616)" p. 270. On Jan. 17, 1614, ("Court Minutes of E. I. Co."): "Thirty great ordinance for the New Year's Gift." Pring condemned for not having performed his promise to lie on board."

to be 87½ per cent. on £429,000, the dividends on the voyage of 1613 were to be 120 per cent. and Pring's cargo which had cost £9,000 in the East was to be sold in England for £80,000.[1]

The profits were great but so also was the risk. The Company, however, took every possible precaution, and to make this particular investment as sure as might be had placed in command Nicholas Downton, a tried man who had served with distinction as second to Sir Henry Middleton on the sixth separate voyage, in 1610.[2] Downton's instructions gave him ample power for the maintenance of discipline; and, though he was directed to seek no quarrel with European competitors on the other side the Cape, he was charged to "suffer no spoyle to be made of any goods or merchandize" committed to his care, and, if attacked because of the "emulation and envye which doth accompanye the discouerye of Countryes and trades," to defend the pretensions and desires of the English as best he might.[3]

Such language was to the point; for then, as later in the eighteenth century, small attention was paid by Europeans in either Asia or America to the diplomatic agreements of the home countries. Peace in Europe was often no check to rivalry and bloodshed in foreign establishments. As in the West England was to struggle for commercial and political supremacy with Spain and France, she was already the rival

[1] Bruce: "Annals," I, pp. 166-7; Hunter: op. cit., I, p. 307.

[2] "Letters Received by the E. I. Co.," I, pp. 155-92, *passim*, and pp. 241-51; "Cal. State Papers, Col. E. I., (1513-1616)," Nos. 629, 653.

[3] Birdwood and Foster: "First Letter Book," pp. 449-52.

in the East of Portugal and Holland. In India and the Far East native states and rulers were being drawn into these quarrels; and there was likely to be as much of diplomacy and war as of seamanship and trade in the successful conduct of a voyage to Asiatic waters. In India the Mughal Empire, no longer ruled by an Akbar, was nevertheless still strong enough to check the pest of eager European seekers for the spoil of a peninsula, richer in that day than many a continent. An Englishman must still be a beggar for permission to trade in the domain of the great Muhammadan state, while foreign rivals, whether by intrigue or open attack, sought to make the task harder. The first stage in the struggle for privilege was to pass in the second decade of the seventeenth century. Portugal was to give way to England, thus leaving for a time the Dutch as sole rivals of power to contest for the trade of India with the merchants of London.

In 1612 Captain Best had made a running fight of near a month against the vastly superior forces of the Portuguese, and in that time had broken in the minds of the natives "the reputation the Portuguese had won in India by the sea achievements of a hundred years."[1] But the issue was still in doubt; a defeat would lose the English all they had gained and they well knew that Portugal would not abandon her primacy and monopoly without a stubborn fight. It

[1] Hunter: op. cit., I, p. 303. Despatches describing this fight are to be found in "Letters Received by the E. I. Co.," I, pp. 233 *et seq.*; II, p. 155; Purchas: I, pp. 459 *et seq.*, 482 *et seq.*; "Cal. State Papers, Col. E. I. (1513-1616)," Nos. 638, 640. The accounts in Low: "Indian Navy," I, pp. 13-14; Clowes: "Royal Navy," II, pp. 33-34, have been corrected in Hunter. Cf. Bruce: "Annals," I, p. 163.

could, therefore, have been with no surprise that Downton heard, soon after his squadron reached the Swally roads, off Surat, that the Portuguese viceroy at Goa was equipping a great force against him.[1]

Surat was then the headquarters for the English trade in the Mughal Empire; but the Company's hold on the native governor was slight and the Emperor's policy was itself uncertain and largely dependent on the outcome of the immediate future. A brief explanation of the exact situation will make this clearer. The victory of Captain Best in 1612 and the favorable reception thus won by the English had grieved the Portuguese, who in revenge had in September, 1613, taken a native ship of Surat, lately come from the Red Sea, "being richly laden, almost to the value of a hundred thousand pounds, and carried her away, and almost 700 persons in her; by which means none of them [the Portuguese] dare appear in those parts as they were wont, insomuch that had we [the English] shipping here now from England we should strike all dead," because this conduct "hath made them odious" to the natives.[2] Jahangir, the Emperor, retaliated by causing Daman, a Portuguese post, to be besieged by Mukarrab Khan, the local governor, and by giving "order for the seizing of all Portingals and their goods within his king-

[1] Hunter: (I, p. 308 n.) states that the journal of Pring's ship, the New Year's Gift, is still preserved in the India Office "Marine Records," 1605-1701. For the voyage to India and the movements of this ship (March, 1614-spring of 1616) see Purchas: I, pp. 500 *et seq.*, 516, 629; "Letters Received, etc.," Vols. II, III and IV; and "Cal. State Papers, Col. (1513-1616)" *passim*, by index references to the name.

[2] Aldworth to Marlowe, Nov. 9, 1613, "Letters Received, etc.," I, p. 308. Cf. Danvers: "Portuguese in India," II, p. 162. States the ship belonged to the Emperor.

doms." Their churches were closed, and "Xavier, the great Jesuit, whom before he loved," was dismissed; and other Indian rulers were incited to attack Portuguese establishments. The English in the meantime were in great favor. But since no English ships came to trade, the natives soon longed for peace and doubted "whether it were not wiser to yield to the viceroy's demands and expel the English." Such was the temper of the times when Downton cast anchor, in October, 1614. Great was the joy of the English agents; and eager the wish of Mukarrab Khan to use Downton's force for the war against the Portuguese. But Downton, mindful of his instructions, would not agree, and the situation became even more difficult. Finally the knot was cut by the attack of the Portuguese; and Downton once fairly on the defence made ready to fight for the hope of English leadership in western India.[1]

The English squadron of four ships, with 400 crew, carried 80 guns, but their caliber was inferior to that of the Portuguese armaments. The viceroy, Don Hierome de Azevedo, had under his command the entire naval strength of Portuguese India, assembled for this struggle, consisting of eight galleons, five lesser ships and sixty "frigates" or rowed barges carrying thirty fighting men apiece and eighteen oars on a side. The whole was manned by native crews

[1] "Letters Received, etc.," II, pp. 18, 96 *et seq.*, 104, 130, 137-39, 148 *et seq.*, 156, 167-172, 178,185. The Jesuit, Xavier, is not, of course, Francis Xavier, (Cal. State Papers, E. I., (1513-1616) No. 763), as the editor of "Letters Received, etc.," (II, p. 96 and index at Xavier) appears to think. He was probably Jerome Xavier, a nephew of St. Francis; at least a priest of that name was for long a favorite at the court of Akbar. Yule: "Cathay and the Way Thither," II, pp. 532, 552.

to the number of 6,000, with 2,600 Europeans free to work the 134 guns which the fleet mounted.[1] This force began to assemble in the end of December and by January 18, 1615, Downton's small fleet was well-nigh blockaded in the Tapti Estuary (apparently in what is known to-day as Sutherland Channel.) The odds were those which would have appealed to Sir Richard Grenville. Downton had decided at the council held aboard the New Year's Gift to await attack near the shallower waters of the roadstead where the larger Portuguese ships would be at a disadvantage; but in this he must have acted contrary to the bolder judgment of Pring, who later wrote of his regret in having been caught at Swally, agreeing with Sir Thomas Roe that it would have been better to have forced a passage to open sea and there in a "more spacious place" have beaten the Portugalles like a man.[2]

However that may be, Downton, if not reckless, was far-sighted enough to realize the import of the whole matter. For he wrote in his diary: "My care is not

[1] Purchas: I, pp. 505 *et seq.*, 519; "Cal. State Papers, Col. E. I. 1513-1616," No. 935; "Letters Received, etc.," II, p. 137; Clowes: "Royal Navy," II, p. 35; Low: "Indian Navy," I, p. 19, who follows Orme: "Oriental Fragments." Orme follows Purchas and the account by Faria de Souza; by the latter is apparently meant Manuel Faria y Sousa: "Asia Portugueza, 3 Vols., 1674. This work is largely based on Barros and Couto: "Decadas, etc." An English translation by Stevens was made in 1695 of Sousa with much omitted. (Whiteway: "Rise of Portuguese Power in India," p. 14.) Danvers: "Portuguese in India," II, pp. 170-171; though no authorities are cited Danvers has evidently depended largely on Portuguese sources, and offers some explanation of the discrepancies found elsewhere as to numbers. Two fleets united in the attack on Downton, and this is not noted elsewhere. In Hunter: "Hist. of British India," I, p. 321, Low is followed, but the statement of 234 guns for the Portuguese is obviously a misprint. Unfortunately, the Portuguese authorities are not at hand to enable me to follow the statements further. The superiority of the Portuguese fleet is, however, beyond question. I have taken the figures given by Purchas and modified them somewhat by other sources.

[2] Foster: "Sir Thomas Roe," II, p. 417 n.

small, how to do my best in maintaining the Honour of my Country, not negligent in the memory of the estates and charge of friends and employers in this journey; not only for the hazard of this at present committed to my charge but also all hope of future times, if I should now be overthrown; by reason the enemy in getting the upper hand of me would make his peace with these people upon what he lust to the expelling my nation this country forever." Two things, however, he continued, were his comfort at this juncture: "My people, though much with death and sickness shortened, all from the highest to the lowest seems very courageous and comfortable and ever as I could be solitary I craved very earnestly aide and assistance from the Lord of hosts and from that mighty and merciful God who hath manifold wayes formerly delivered me, often I say, desiring his Majesty so to guide and direct me that I might omit nothing which might tend to the safety of my owne charge nor the danger of the enemy and that God would grant my request I had a strong confidence."[1]

On January 20 the fighting began and so skillful were the English captains in the handling of their vessels and so accurate was the English gun fire that the viceroy drew off with heavy losses. A blockade of nearly three weeks followed till with reinforcements the Portuguese on February 8 came driving up on the flood against the English fleet, only to make away again as fast as they might from the

[1] Purchas: op. cit. I, p. 506.

deadly fire of Downton's guns. Two days later the viceroy fell off in disgust, and on February 13 the Armada sailed away and soon was seen no more. It was a victory dearly bought, for many English had died of disease and wounds. On February 3 Downton had been compelled to write in his diary: "It pleased God this day at night when I had least leisure to mourn to call to his mercy my only son"; and not many months later a tropical fever set free the Admiral to follow his son.[1]

The death of Downton was at Bantam where the New Year's Gift had gone for spices. This was Pring's introduction to a region he was soon to know better, but his orders on this occasion required him to return to England. The success of the venture was great; political, military and commercial ends had all been well served. Mughal dominions had been saved from Portuguese pilfering; the sea power of England had been valiantly maintained, and the Company's profits were beyond the usual high average.[2]

[1] Purchas, I, pp. 506 *et seq.*; "Letters received by the E. I. Co." etc., II, pp. 296, 302, 303; III, pp. 15, 22, 23, 26 (Downton to Sir Thomas Smythe, Feb. 28, 1614 (1615)). He makes criticisms on his command, saying they had not known what to do. "I acknowledge your care in preparing ordnance, powder and shot, but no way like your choice of people to use them," pp. 44, 48 *et seq.* 55, 71, 170, 300. Low: "Indian Navy," I, pp. 20-23, quoting largely from Orme: "Oriental Fragments," pp. 346-56. Hunter: "Hist. of British India," I, pp. 323 *et seq.* Clowes: "Royal Navy," II, p. 35. For Jahangir's pleasure at the defeat of the Portuguese cf. "Waki' at-i Jahangiri" in Elliot: "Hist. of India," VI, p. 340.

[2] "Cal. State Papers E. I. (1513-1616)" Nos. 1011, 1022, 1055, 1091, 1124, 1127, 1130, 1187. "Letters received, etc.," III, pp. 95, 149, 170, 173 (it had at first been the intention of the Company to detach the New Year's Gift and send her to Japan in 1615), 174. The voyage home from Bantam to England (Dec. 21, 1615—July, 1616) may be traced in the following despatches: pp. 180, 210, 230, 232, 257, 259, 261, 266, 268, 272, 294, 295, 297, 300, 315, 317, 337, and "Cal. State Papers" as above. No. 1130. Bruce: "Annals," I, pp. 171-74. Details as to the movements of the Gift and her lading are also to be found in "Letters received, etc.," IV, pp. 25, 29, 30, 34, 66, 121, 278, 291 *et seq.* Markham: "Voyages of Sir James Lancaster," p. 266. Cf. also pp. 295 *et seq.*

V.

That Pring had served with credit in the eyes of the Company may be judged by his appointment in 1617 to the government of a new squadron which was to make the fifth voyage for the joint stock. Here he had the James Royal of a thousand tons as his flagship. Besides were two ships nearly as large and two others smaller. These five set sail from the Downs the first of March, 1617. The outward voyage was attended with some peril, as off the Arabian coast the James sprang a leak which was with difficulty stopped. While the flagship was thus disabled the other vessels were nevertheless able to capture a Portuguese ship from Mozambique laden with "elephants' teeth," as ivory was then called. Moreover, what was important, they took two English ships, interlopers in these waters, who had had in chase a native craft belonging to the Emperor's mother. It soon appeared that these two English vessels had been outfitted to prey on Spanish shipping. This had been at the orders of Lord Robert Rich, soon to be the Earl of Warwick. He had been importuned to this end by his friend, Count Scarnafissi, ambassador in London of the Duke of Savoy who was at the time at war with the King of Spain. These ships were then privateers flying a neutral flag; moreover, what was far worse—they were within the Company's monopoly. They had further imperiled the Company's interests by their thoughtless greed in attacking a merchant vessel belonging to the imperial court.

They were, therefore, promptly confiscated by Pring's orders.[1]

The consequences of this act, though for the most part beyond the scope of this paper, may serve to illustrate the more or less close connection which at this time existed between the East India and Virginia Companies. In London was Sir Thomas Smythe, merchant and man of affairs, Governor of the East India Company and likewise Treasurer of the Virginia Company. His young son had recently, against the will of the father, been married to Lady Isabella Rich, a sister to Lord Robert Rich, the owner of at least one of the captured vessels. Bad feeling between the two families had thus been bred. The news from India was not calculated to make either Sir Thomas Smythe or Lord Robert Rich more friendly; for when Lord Robert made urgent complaint to the Governor of the Company concerning the capture of his ship by Captain Pring, the

[1] "Letters received by the E. I. Co.," III, p. 326. Pring's journal of the voyage is in Purchas: op. cit., I, pp. 618, 631 *et seq.* Cf. also his letter to the Company from Swally Roads, Nov. 12, 1617, in "Letters received, etc.," VI, pp. 171-8, in which one of the interloping ships is stated to have been owned by Philip Barnadi, an Italian merchant of London. Pring comments on the capture (p. 174): "I praise God with all my heart that we lighted so on them, for if they had taken the junk and known to be English (which could not long have been concealed) all your goods in this country could not have made satisfaction according to their desire (and that is commonly their law in these cases)." In a letter from Kerridge and Rastel, factors at Surat, to the Company, (Ibid, pp. 158, 164) much the same is said, though one ship is said to have been owned in the name of the Duke of Florence. Still another account is by Edward Monnox, who came out as factor in Pring's fleet, pp. 269 *et seq.* For further references to Pring's voyage and his activities off Surat see pp. 95, 107, 112, 114, 120, 122, 129, 137, 146, 149, 151, 156, 163, 166, 177, 215, 218, 278. The voyage and the above events may also be followed, though in less satisfactory fashion, in the "Cal. of State Papers, Col., E. I. (1617-1621)." Here care should be taken not to confuse the operations of the James under Capt. Childs and the James Royal under Capt. Pring; the index is not always clear. The references to Pring in the index are correct; of these the more important are to be found in Nos. 154, 162, 186, 187, 193, 302. Sir Thomas Roe wrote of the capture of the English rovers, "if shee (the Queen Mother's ship) had bin taken, we had all bin in trouble." Foster: "Roe," II, pp. 420 n., 421, 480.

Company, determined both by its own interests and by the wishes of the Governor, supported Pring's action against those two marauding rovers and refused to grant the damages demanded. So hot did the action become that Lord Robert brought the case before the Privy Council and to the King's attention; and in the end the whole matter was referred to arbitration. In the meantime, however, by way of personal revenge, Lord Robert, who was himself a man of influence in colonial affairs, set to work to oust Sir Thomas Smythe and his friends from control of the funds of the Virginia Company. At the next meeting of that Company in April, 1619, the party of Lord Robert all gave their votes to an independent and victorious candidate, one Sir Edwin Sandys, that he might be Treasurer of the Virginia Company in succession to the candidate set up by Sir Thomas Smythe, who himself had not wished to continue in office. The result, however, was much to the astonishment of all. In this fashion was Sir Edwin Sandys given office in the management of the colony of Virginia, to what results for the benefit of the colony and for the directing of its future history I leave the readers of Virginia records to recall.[1]

[1] "Cal. State Papers, Col. E. I. (1617-21)" Nos. 193, 230, 267, 302, 467, 532, 557, 567, 591, 594, 666, 772, 774, 778, 781, 783, 801, 810, 823, 825, 829, and many others to be found noted in the index. Cf. also pp. LXXVI-LXXX.

"Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report, Lords' Papers," p. 19. Gardiner: "Hist. of England," III, p. 216. "Cal. State Papers, Dom. (1619-1623)," Nos. 2, 67. "Cal. State Papers, Col. (1574-1660)" Nos. 44, 51. Brown: "Genesis of United States," II, pp. 980, 1014. "Dict. Nat. Biog.," see "Rich" and "Smythe." Cf. "Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.," 4th Series, III, pp. 36, 37. The full bearing of the election is not recognized in Neill: "Virginia Company," pp. 143-45, 151. Foster: "Roe," II, pp. 240 n., and "Letters received by E. I. Co.," VI, p. XXIX, contain brief summaries with some of the above references.

On turning once more to Pring's career in the east, one of the most significant episodes in his biography is to be found in his relationship to Sir Thomas Roe, British ambassador to the Mughal Emperor, Jahangir. Roe was the first British diplomat sent east by the Cape and won for himself great fame by able conduct in a post of extreme difficulty. He gave Pring, an old friend, warm welcome when the James Royal arrived off the Indian coast early in the autumn of 1617 ; and his testimony to Pring's worth is full the equal of that given by Sir Ferdinando Gorges. I quote from Roe's letter of welcome to Pring, written October 5, 1617 : "Honest Man, God, that Knowes my hart, wittnesse you are the welcomest man to this Country that Could here arriue to assist my many troubles."[1] Four months later to the Company in London he also wrote that Pring "now by his great Modesty and discretion hath both reformed many abuses, gayned you much good will, himselfe all mens loue and his owne Credditt. An honester man I suppose you cannot send, and that his Actions will approue : one that Studies your endes, is ready to ioyne with any, without insisting vpon disputes and tearmes."[2] To another he wrote : "Captain Pring is every way sufficient and discreet."[3] The quotations might be further continued.

Together Roe and Pring concerted measures for the final ousting of the Portuguese, for the extension

[1] Foster: "Roe," II, p. 421.

[2] Ibid, II, p. 468.

[3] "Letters received, etc.," VI, p. 120. Cf. also pp. 136, and 151 *et seq.*

of British influence and trade in the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and Persia, and for keener competition with the Dutch. Against the latter Roe frankly advocated a piratical policy in order thereby to give the English a monopoly in Asiatic waters.[1] Yet in the midst of this planning we find at times the burden of a lonely responsibility weighing heavily on a mind perplexed by oriental duplicity. Thus passages such as the following to Pring are frequent in Roe's letters: "Wee liue in a Barbarous unfaythfull place; you in the sea with more securitie and Constancye. Pray for Vs, that God wilbe Pleased to keepe vs, that among heathens wee may bee as light in darknes; at least that wee shame not the light."[2] And again in a farewell letter: "I am reddy to breake for want of an honnest free conference . . . . . God in heaven blesse you and send me once among men, for these are monsters."[3] It was the weight of an imperial burden still unrealized that lay heavy on unaccustomed shoulders.

On his departure from India Pring sailed for Jacatra on the island of Java and off Bantam joined his fleet to that of Sir Thomas Dale, also of Virginia fame. During the autumn Pring endeavored to secure a favorable treaty from the king of Jacatra, but was not successful till early in January when the Dutch were no longer such powerful rivals.[4] This was due

[1] "Letters received, etc.," VI, pp. 108, 112, 129, 151, *et seq.* "Cal. State Papers, Col. E. I. (1617-21)" Nos. 155, 156, 298. Foster: "Roe," I, pp. 128, 421, 429, 434; II, pp. 407 *et seq.*, 418, 466, *et seq.*, 470.

[2] Foster: "Roe," II, p. 490. Roe offers to assist Pring with the Company.

[3] Ibid, II, p. 502.

[4] "Cal. State Papers, Col. E. I. (1617-21)" Nos. 245, 423, 424, 444, 447, 477.

to the attack made on the Dutch by both fleets under Dale on December 23, 1618, in Jacatra Bay. It was a desperate engagement and much disputed, both sides claiming the victory; the Dutch, however, sailed away. Pring wrote home that the fight "continued about three hours, in which time the English shot above 1200 great shot from six ships. Chased the Dutch the next day through the Bay of Jacatra insight of their castle." Dale wrote home that it had been "'a cruel bloody fight'; 3000 great shot fired; many men maimed and slain on both sides, but the Dutch had four times as many slain and maimed as the English; three of the Dutch ships reported to be sunk; knows not how true it is, but is sure they were soundly banged."[1]

This fight was one of a long series of bloody struggles between Dutch and English for the spice trade of Malaya. After cruising from January to March and suffering severely by disease and damage of the shipping, both fleets met again at Masulipatam. There reports reached them that the Dutch were once more at work and threatening to drive the English out of the islands; and there on August 9 Sir Thomas Dale died, leaving Pring in supreme command. A short time afterwards the factor at Masulipatam wrote home that he could not "sufficiently commend the present commander, Captain Pring." The condition of the fleet,

[1] "Cal. State Papers, Col. (1617-21)" Nos. 601, 609 (Dale's Account), 643 (Pring's account), 742. Professor Laughton in "Dict. Nat. Biog.," Art. "Pring," says Pring did not take part in this fight: but the language in Nos. 508 and 524 would seem to make it probable that, though the James Royal was detained at Bantam by a leak, Pring, possibly on board the Unicorn, was present at the engagement. As late as February 1619 Pring had not taken the James to sea and was cruising in the Unicorn off the Straits of Sunda looking for the Dutch.

however, was such as to persuade Pring to avoid the Dutch and during the autumn of 1619 and early winter of 1620 English interests suffered much loss. Such being the case, the news of a peace made at home with the Dutch in the year previous was welcomed by Pring in March, 1620. Indeed he had already informed the Company that he favored a union of the English and Dutch to overthrow both Spain and Portugal, thereby securing a joint monopoly of tropical trade. The allies could then buy all commodities in the East and sell them in Europe at such prices as they pleased. Whereby, as he wrote, they might expect "both wealth and honor, the two main pillars of earthly happiness."[1]

At news of the peace Pring, now recognized as General in command of the East Indian fleets, entered into friendly relations with the Dutch commander, General Coen; "and there [perhaps Bantam] they feasted each other that day [March 13 (23) 1620]; then all the prisoners of each side were set at liberty, and taken again aboard their own ships."[1] Thus assured of the safety of English interests in India and the spice islands, Pring then ventured further east and made the voyage to Japan. On his arrival at Firando he was made welcome by the Company's agent, Richard Cocks. The news of peace with the Dutch was joyfully received; and Pring, looking to

[1] "Cal. State Papers, Col. E. I. (1617-21)" Nos. 538, 562, 602, 607, 643, 670 (cruising for the Dutch); 747, 759, 775, 782, 787 (at Masulipatam); 802, 844, 948 (the Dutch). Cf. "Dict. Nat. Biog., locus" Pring. Clowes: op. cit., II, p. 39; several inaccuracies are to be noted here.

[1] Op. cit., No. 934.

the future, was led to believe that if the China trade could be drawn to Japan it "would prove the best factory in the world."[1] William Adams, the first Anglo-Japanese merchant, had died in the May prior to the arrival of the James Royal, which was on July 23, 1620; but with Cocks, who had been in the country now ten years, a five months' stay was made in which the ships were repaired.[2] Indeed, Pring and Cocks appear to have enjoyed the visit; for in his diary Cocks speaks of several dinners in company with the captains of the squadron. On the occasion of the sailing of the James Royal, Cocks noted, December 12, 1620: "We supped all at Duch howse, both Capt. Pring, Capt. Adames, and all the masters of the shipps and merchants ashore, where we had greate cheare and no skarsety of wyne, with many guns shott affe for healthes all the night long."[3] Finally, with rich cargo on board, Pring started on the long voyage home, being at last signaled in the Downs on the morning of September 19, 1621, nine months and two days out from Cochie Road off Firando.[4]

The temper of the Company had been sorely tried since Pring had started for Japan; the Dutch had not kept the treaty; and events were preparing for

[1] Op. cit., No. 1133.

[2] Op. cit. Nos. 844, 878, 883 (Pring declined to command a fleet bound for Manila), 910, 929, 930. Cf. for the voyage of the James Royal Purchas: op. cit., I, pp. 629 *et seq.*; Rundall: "Memorials of Japan," p. 87. Cocks to the E. I. Co. Dec. 13 1620: "The coppie of his [Adams] will with another of his inventory (or account of his estate) I send to his wife and daughter, per Captain Martin Pring, their good friend, well knowne to them long tyme past." Cf. Cocks: "Diary," II, p. 321.

[3] Cocks: "Diary," II, p. 116.

[4] Cocks: "Diary," II, pp. 54, 112-116, 318, 322. "Cal. State Papers Col. E. I. (1617-21)" No. 1100.

that terrible massacre of the English at Amboyna in 1623, which was to drive them from the spice islands for so many years. Signs of all this are to be seen in the fault the Company now found with Pring for not having opposed the Dutch more vigorously after the death of Sir Thomas Dale, for having been friendly with the Dutch after the signature of peace, for having taken the James Royal to Japan for full repairs when the interests of the Company were still in jeopardy, and above all for having indulged in private trade to his own profit. This last charge might well be true, for it was a common thing among the captains and factors in the service, though much disliked by the Company. Matters indeed came to such a pass that Pring was near brought before the Privy Council to answer charges brought against him by the Company's Court. Eventually, however, Pring was able to clear himself from several charges and the matter was dropped. But he had to wait a good part of a year for his wages, and when he finally quit the service in August, 1623, the customary gratification of money from the Company was withheld. The general opinion seems to have been that Pring was a better navigator than merchant. Yet in no instance did he fail to secure the approval of men who watched him in the active performance of his duty. The ideal commander in the eyes of the Company must be "partly a navigator, partly a merchant, with knowledge to lade a ship, and partly a man of fashion and good respect." While Pring may not have risen to that condition, he was by all other accounts a man of

service to the corporation. His misfortune was to have returned home an avowed supporter of a Dutch alliance, now unpopular, and too honest and independent to deny that he had indulged, as had others, in private trade.[1]

VI.

After nearly a decade of adventuring to the east the closing years of Pring's life show significantly a return to western interests. Indeed it is possible that after his return in 1623 to his home port of Bristol, he once more assumed a voyage to Virginia. He had been elected a member of the Company of Merchant Adventurers of Bristol, the organization that had supported his maiden venture in 1603; and there is one bit of evidence which would point to his having sailed to America again in 1626. For in that year one Miles Prickett, a baker of Holy Cross Parish, outside of Canterbury, made his will and declared therein that, "Whereas there is or will be certain money due me in consideration of my adventuring into Virginia under the Worshipful Captain Pryn [Pring], his charge, which goods, if they shall prosper well in the said voyage I freely dispose of the benefit that shall be due to me unto my brother."[2]

[1] "Cal. of State Papers, E. I. (1513-1616)," No. 700 (the ideal captain). Ibid (1617-22), Nos. 979, 982, 1110, 1130, 1133, 1134, 1136, 1138, 1145, 1161, 1171; Ibid (1622-24), Nos. 98, 103, 332; p. 92. Cf. "Pring" in "Dict. Nat. Biog."

[2] New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.," XL, p. 62. Brown: "Genesis of the U. S.," II, p. 974.

But whatever hesitancy may be felt in asserting a third American voyage by Captain Pring, the evidence of his continuing interest in American affairs is derived from other and less doubtful sources and may perhaps add to the probability of the third voyage. It appears that in 1621, while on the homeward voyage from Japan in the James Royal, the ship's chaplain, the Reverend Patrick Copland, had gathered from the "gentlemen and mariners" on board the sum of £70 8s 6d towards the building of a free school in Virginia. The largest single amount subscribed was £6 13s 4d by Pring himself and "so decreasing to one shilling." This Mr. Copland had attended Sir Thomas Dale at his death-bed in Masulipatam, August, 1619, and had on that occasion probably heard much of Virginia's needs from the lips of her former governor, then dying in the eastern tropics. At least talk of America and inquiries concerning Virginia were frequent on Dale's lips. The possibility that this plan and this subscription were in part the results of these talks is calculated to give pause when we consider the character and labors of Dale in Virginia. Whether the suggestion came from him or no, it found hearty furtherance from Pring. Copland also found on landing in England others ready to take up the matter; by several anonymous gifts the fund was by 1622 increased to £192 1s 10d; and the total was given to the Earl of Southampton for what the Council of the Virginia Company was pleased to call the East India School. A thousand acres of land also were voted by the Company to the

school, which was to be situate at Charles City.[1] The Virginia Company thus declared itself to be heartily in sympathy with the proposal and voted that "ciuility of life and humane learninge seemed to carry with it the greatest weight and highest consequence unto the plantac̃ons as that whereof both Church and Common wealth take their originall foundac̃ion and happie estate."[2]

Carpenters were sent out to build the school and two teachers were successively engaged to conduct its affairs. Difficulties supervened, however, and no further record of the establishment is to be found. But the gratitude of the Company found special expression in the Quarter Court of July 3, 1622, when it was thought fit to make Captain Pring a freeman of the Company and to give him two shares of land in Virginia. This, as the record reads: "in reguard of the large contribucon w^{ch} the gentlemen and mariners of that shippe [James Royal] had given toward good works in Virginia whereof he was an especiall furtherer."[3] Thus it was that Pring became both a landowner and a supporter of an infant educational system in America. He might, therefore, have gone to Virginia in 1626 in the interest of both his personal

[1] Brown: op. cit., II, pp. 972-3. On Copland's career to 1623 see "Cal. State Papers Col. E. I. (1617-21)," Nos. 270, 289, 302, 654, 979, 1125. In 1617 the sailors had raised on the James Royal a sum of money for a gallery in St. John's Chapel, Wapping, of which Master Rowland Coitmore, formerly of the James, became warden in 1622. Brown: op. cit., II, p. 856. In 1624 the E. I. Company, profiting by such example, voted in the future to take up subscriptions on their vessels for "those hurt or maimed in the Company's service. . . . . which they think will be more proper, than for erecting a school in Virginia." "Cal. State Papers Col. E. I. (1622-24)" No. 710. Neill: "Virginia Company," pp. 251 *et seq.*

[2] Neill: op. cit., p. 254.

[3] Neill: op. cit., p. 314.

gift and his real estate. However that may be, he must, nevertheless, have died soon after his return to England, for Prickett's will was dated November 30, 1626, and by the record on the monument in St. Stephen's Church at Bristol, Pring died in that year at the age of forty-six. This monument, restored in 1733, is inscribed: "To the Pious Memorie of Martin Pringe, Merchaunt, Sometyme Generall to the East Indies, and one of ye Fraternity of the Trinity House." It bears the arms of the Merchant Adventurers of Bristol, at whose expense it was probably erected; and at each of the four corners are carved ships representing those in which Pring had sailed as commander.[1]

I hope that as you have patiently followed my attempt to tell you of the life of Martin Pring you will have seen how historic is his biography, how typical is his career of the epochal changes which took place in England during his lifetime, and with what close and at times curious connection are bound the efforts of those who were enlarging the power and interests of the English nation both in America and in Asia.[2] The place and time of his birth as well as other circumstances recall the close of the Elizabethan

[1] A description of the monument is in "Mag. Am. Hist.," IX, p. 211. Cf. Brown: op. cit. II, p. 974. "Dict. Nat. Biog." locus Pring. Pring: "Captaine Martin Pringe," contains a plate of the monument with a transcription of the inscription and epitaph. For further information on the interesting career and personality of the Reverend Patrick Copland (or Copeland) cf. Neill: "Virginia Company," pp. 251 n., 374, 377, and "Virginia Carolorum," pp. 31, 195-197. See also Clews: "Educational Legislation and Administration of the Colonial Governments," pp. 351-354.

[2] Aside from the interest which naturally associated such men as John Davis, Sir Thomas Smythe, George Waymouth, and many others in the expansion of England in two hemispheres, it is worthy of note that William Baffin sailed as master's mate in the Ann Royal of Pring's fleet in 1617. Cf. Markham: "Sir James Lancaster," p. 267.

age, that period when men with "happy heart and a bias toward theism" followed "asceticism, duty and magnanimity," that time when statesmen wrote sonnets and sailors enacted plays, when a Grenville had a Raleigh for his historian, when

> "Drake went down to the Horn
> And England was crowned thereby —"

in short that time when Englishmen made discovery of mankind, of new lands and seas and of themselves.

Moreover, Pring's character and work, as well as the esteem in which he was held by men such as Richard Hakluyt, the Lord Chief Justice and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in the Occident, and by Sir Thomas Roe in the Orient, entitle him on the personal side still further to our consideration. He was an English seaman, pointing the way to England's glory and power, a forerunner of Anglo-Saxon empire in two hemispheres, an explorer, a fighter, a trader, a diplomat, and a patron of education, yet withal a man of piety, perseverance and modesty. In the quaint language of his epitaph:

> "His painful, skillfull travayles reacht as farre
> As from the Artick to th' Antartick starre
> Hee made himself A Shippe, Religion
> His only compass and the truth alone
> His guiding Cynosure; Faith was his sailes,
> His Anchour hope, a hope that never failes
> His freight was charitie and his returne
> A fruitfull practise. In this fatal urne
> His shipp's fayre Bulck is lodg'd but ye ritch ladinge
> Is housed in heaven, a haven never fadinge
>
> Hic terris multum jactatus et undis."

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A PIONEER VOYAGER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

BY REV. HENRY O. THAYER

Read before the Maine Historical Society, November 19, 1903

Disaster and frustrated enterprise are the black headlines in the early history of America. European adventurers were repeatedly driven back or gained possession at great cost of treasure and life. A glance at events in the sixteenth century is a pertinent introduction to the purpose of to-day. Its annals include a startling record of failure in attempted entrance to the western world.

The genius to discover an unknown continent did not give Columbus power over adverse conditions, but two colonies begun utterly failed and another scarcely survived. Ojeda on the Carribean coast, Las Casas at Cumana, Ponce de Leon and next Narvaez and a score of years later the Dominicans, each seeking possession of Florida, are names recalling speedy collapse. Cartier and Roberval, scheming for France on the St. Lawrence, had hopeful beginnings crushed. Like failure attended Colingny's Huguenot colony at Rio Janiero and Ribault's at Port Royal. The names of Laudonniere, Menendez, De Gourges, stand on the pages of history testifying how France and Spain murderously destroyed each other's work. De la Roche's colony of convicts placed on Sable

Island, and an English attempt on Newfoundland, quickly abortive, only tell of wretchedness and cannibalism. Raleigh's lost colony of Roanoke is ever a pitiable mystery.

Dreams of empire in the west, attempts to seize the prize, all futile, mark the sixteenth century, and nearly five and one-half score years had gone by from the time when Cabot by discovery on the northern coast gave England valid claim to North America, before permanent occupation was achieved.

One of these regretted failures is treated in this paper, the disastrous expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

In a Devonshire family of distinction he was born, 1539, son of Sir Otho Gilbert, of Compton Castle. His mother was a Champernown. A younger half-brother was the distinguished Walter Raleigh.

Student at Eton and Oxford; in youth a servitor of the great Elizabeth and enjoying her favor to the end; of scholarly tastes but inclined to active life; in military service in Normandy in 1563, probably a lieutenant; in '66 in Ireland, a captain under Sir Henry Sidney, and by him knighted in '70; sent back in '67 to settle an English colony which failed; in '69 governor of Munster, rigorous and feared, avowing his method, "neither parley or peace with any rebel"; in Parliament in '71, also surveyor-general of forces and munitions of war; next year sent to the Netherlands against the Spanish tyrants; for several years following in retirement; now evolving a plan for a literary institution in London . . . .

called an academy; in '66 petitioning the queen for privilege to discover the Northwest Passage, with glowing views of expected results; in the following year urging anew his proposal; author of a tractate on the subject, now extant, "Discourse of a Discovery for a new Passage to Cataia," a sample of scientific ideas of that century; in '77 putting forth a scheme showing how to weaken the power of Spain — these are brief hints at his varied activities and responsibilities up to his thirty-eighth year, when he devoted himself to plans for colonization.

Evident is his interest in public affairs, but more a dominant trend toward geographical research and participation in projects and movements relating to America.

In 1577, by Elizabeth's favor, Frobisher sailed on a luckless voyage, and countenancing similar aims, next Gilbert's friendly queen in variant mood bent ear to his long-disregarded requests, and by her royal patent of 1578 permitted him to discover and possess heathen lands not possessed by any Christian prince. Large privileges enhanced the grant. With enthusiasm and energy he made preparation, cast his property into the venture, and aided by his brother Raleigh, assembled eleven ships and four hundred men off the coast of Devon. Dissensions, rivalry of captains, weakened authority, riotous conduct, dispersed part of the fleet, so that the second attempt at sailing in November showed but seven ships and two hundred and fifty men. The expedition, obscure in movement, achieved nothing intended in the line of

discovery, and returned in a few months with loss of one ship and a valiant captain in a clash with Spanish ships.

Undaunted, Gilbert held to his purpose, persistent under enforced delay. Funds and co-operation were not easily obtained. He had already in his fruitless venture largely sunk his fortune, his credit, even influence at court. Urging payment for his ships chartered by the government, he confesses how harassed he had been by debts and executions, even forced "to sell his wife's clothes off her back" to meet pressing demands. Yet funds were raised from friends and by assigning rights in lands yet to be seen and possessed. Years had gone by in the vexing endeavor till but one remained before his patent would expire, but with desperate earnestness he overcame the adverse conditions and had five ships and two hundred and sixty men ready. The queen gave him a token of favor,— a silver anchor,— and wished him equal safety and success as if she were in his ship. Thus equipped, Sir Humphrey put forth to sea on June 11, 1583, from Causand Bay near Plymouth.

The vessels were:

1. The Delight, alias the George, the admiral, or flagship, one hundred and twenty tons; William Winter, captain and part owner, Richard Clarke, master.

2. The bark Raleigh, provided by Sir Walter Raleigh, two hundred tons; Butler, captain, Robert Davis, of Bristol, master.

3. The Golden Hind, forty tons; Edward Hayes, captain and owner, William Cox, master, John Paul, mate.

4. The Swallow, forty tons; Maurice Brown, master.

5. The Squirrel, ten tons; William Andrews, captain, —— Cade, master. Sir Humphrey was doubtless owner.

Men of various occupations required in a colony were a part of the force, also a historian and mineralogist and refiner.

A history of the enterprise and voyage was written by Captain Hayes, also a brief account by Master Clarke, and Sir George Peckham, heartily seconding Gilbert in the venture, sketched events, adding considerations on the benefits of colonies.[1]

It has been written that Gosnold, in 1602, was the first navigator to sail directly west to America, avoiding the circuit by the West Indies. But this expedition took the direct course and was probably not the first. The sailing orders put forth by Sir Humphrey and pilots directed that after running down to latitude forty-six degrees they should endeavor to keep that parallel directly to Newfoundland, and if separated by storms to rendezvous in a harbor near Cape Race.

Sir Humphrey's information had formed his preferences for colonies in the southern parts, and he proposed to begin examination at the southward and sail up the coast. One fact changed his plan. The departure from Plymouth was delayed beyond

[1] "Hakluyt's Voyages," Ed. 1600, Vol. 3, pp. 143-160.

intention, so that supplies in the ships were in a measure consumed, therefore it was deemed wise to go direct to St. John's and there re-supply the ships from surplus stores of vessels about to return and thence sail southward. Two days out, the largest vessel, the Raleigh, reported sickness on board, then soon put about, and though it was afterwards told there was contagious disease, suspicions arose of other causes for the return to England.

Storms and adverse winds made the voyage hard and long, and not till Saturday, August 3, did all the vessels reach St. John's. Only Gilbert's high commission gained him peaceable entrance to the harbor of St. John's, where were thirty-six ships, English, Spanish, Breton, French. On Monday, 5th, on shore in audience of seamen and traders of the several nations, he declared his authority, and took formal possession by usual ceremonies for Elizabeth and the crown of England of the territory of two hundred leagues. Then he re-supplied his fleet with all necessaries and abundant food and luxuries, levying on the captains and agents according to his wants. Grave difficulties, however, arose: — much sickness, many deaths, desertions, insubordination, attempt of lawless fellows to abscond with one ship, so that his force was much weakened. Gilbert decided to dismiss one craft, the Swallow, which should take the sick and those proved unsuitable back to England. Captain Brown of the Swallow was transferred to the flagship, whose captain returned, as also Andrews of the Squirrel.

With this diminished fleet, three vessels, Delight, Golden Hind, Squirrel, one hundred and twenty, forty, ten tons respectively, Sir Humphrey began his real work, examination of the coast to locate the site for his colony and others yet to come. The "General," as Gilbert is styled in the narrative, left his flagship and sailed on the little Squirrel, whose light draft allowed it to enter bays and rivers and furnish him chance for close personal inspection.

Sailing out of St. John's they reached Cape Race the next day, August 21, where becalmed they caught abundance of fish, a supply for many days, and on Thursday, 22d, took their departure from the cape. But whither? The narrator of this part of the voyage writes: "We directed our course to the isle of Sablon or isle of Sand which Sir Humphrey would willingly have seen." He had been informed that cattle and swine in large numbers were there multiplied from a few left there by Portuguese ships thirty years before, which might be a valuable source of supply for the colonists.

Captain Hayes writes: — "We shaped our course to the island of Sablon if conveniently it might so fall out, also directly to Cape Breton." There may be two interpretations,—Cape Breton the objective point, visiting Sable by the way if convenient; or, Sable Island directly and Cape Breton afterwards. We know that after sailing they were seven days at sea and on the eighth the admiral ran aground and was lost.

Certain relations of this disappointing voyage to our Maine history make inquiry pertinent regarding

the place of the wreck, and likewise that of Gilbert's death. In various histories and biographical sketches the wreck has been assigned to the coast of Maine, and of Massachusetts, and to Cape Breton and to Sable Island, or not located.[1]

A paragraph in Bancroft's "History of the United States" read some twenty years ago excited my curiosity and led me to the study of this voyage in the original sources.[2] Our historian wrote that after leaving St. John's the ships sailed for the coast of the United States, "but had not proceeded towards the south beyond the latitude of Wiscasset when the largest ship was wrecked." Why did he write Wiscasset? The casual reader's immediate presumption will connect the disaster with the central coast of Maine. Thus he was interpreted[3] by the author of the "Ancient Dominions," and the opinion may have been held by others, and seems to have been reflected in General Chamberlain's inspiring Centennial address on "Maine, Her Place in History," as sketching Gilbert's final disaster,[4] he wrote cautiously as if distrustful of his authorities, "as some say, not far off Monhegan." Mr. Bancroft's statement, if not misleading, is inadequate, for the latitude of Wiscasset is also that of the Isle Haute, of Liverpool, N. S., nearly, and even of the Bay of Biscay. Evidently seeking a more graphic sentence, he employed a local name,— Wiscasset being precisely in latitude

[1] See note at the end.

[2] Ed. 1876, Vol. 1, p. 75.

[3] Mem. Vol. of Popham Celebration, p. 135.

[4] P. 21.

forty-four degrees north,[1] — to designate that latitude, the main fact to be stated, and thereby to most readers he did designate the Maine coast, whether near to or remote from Sheepscot Bay. Not alone latitude do we require but also longitude, for which evidence must be sought in the narrations which give meager accounts of events associated with the wreck.

After departure from the Cape the ships sailed west along the coast, then soon saw no more land, and in a few days fell into unpropitious weather, making navigation difficult and doubtful. On Tuesday, 27th, soundings were taken in thirty-four fathoms, and by Captain Hayes' report they were in latitude forty-four degrees about. Master Clarke of the admiral tells his story of what happened. On Wednesday, Gilbert from the Squirrel hailed the Delight to consult regarding the course to which Clarke proposed southwesterly (W. S. W.) The General objected and said northwesterly (W. N. W.) Clarke told him Sable Island was in that direction, fifteen leagues off, and they would be on it before morning. The General declared him in error and commanded him with all authority to take that course.

We notice that Clarke writing this statement afterwards in England was making defense for the loss of his vessel. He had no papers, only memory, and did not hesitate to cast the blame on Gilbert, and whether a man of truth or not, he was seeking to make out a good case for himself, and if no witness of the

[1] But the original narrative,— not the log,— does not allow forty-four degrees to be the place of wreck, but at a later stage of the stormy voyage.

conversation was alive, might be believed. Indeed the compiler, Hakluyt, gives in the margin,—"He untruly chargeth Sir Humphrey," which shows opinions adverse to his truthfulness, and Hayes of the other vessel declares Clarke was stubborn in holding the northerly course, claiming he could not make his ship work well otherwise. The Hind necessarily followed the admiral, though against the judgment of its pilot, Cox. Hayes' story is clear and candid and seems worthy of full credit. Wherever lay the blame, the disaster followed.

The story by Clarke and the mention by Hayes that on Tuesday they were in about forty-four degrees, seem to be the only basis for the opinion that the wreck occurred at Sable Island, except it be assured their intention was to sail first to the island. But Cape Breton first is an inference from the title of the log by Cox: "Log kept from Cape Race to Cape Breton and the island of Sablon" to the place of the wreck. Sir George Peckham wrote that they went ashore at Placentia, then having wind fair and good "they proceeded on their course *toward the firme of America*," which seems full evidence of their purpose.

Fortunate is it that the narrative by Captain Hayes furnishes clearer evidence. The main facts show slow and uncertain sailing after leaving land, with baffling winds and "hindered by the current,"— till on the seventh day the wind came south and they ran before it (W. N. W.) all night while it increased into a "vehement" gale with rain and mists such that they could not see a cable's length. In the morning

they found shoals, flats, sand with recurring deep water, and Master Cox dimly saw white cliffs, or perhaps breakers, and soon the admiral drawing fourteen feet struck. The other vessels at once put about and escaped the peril. In the wreck of the flagship nearly one hundred men were lost, but fourteen managed to get into the barge, which had been constructed at St. John's and was towing astern, and after five days of hunger and exposure, by which two died, reached the land and were taken to England. Clarke was one but the captain (Brown) manfully held his place and was involved in the ruin as the ship was broken to pieces. The lighter vessels beat about as near as they dared if they might rescue any survivors.

Captain Hayes introduced into his narrative the entries in the log-books of his master and mate, in order to give, as he hoped, other seamen means to determine the place and avoid the danger. The two logs I have put under the eye of experienced Kennebec shipmasters for expert opinion. Dead reckoning is not esteemed in large degree trustworthy, but one navigator believed far more confidence could be put in it in former times when seamen were experienced in its use than now when the chronometer is an every-day reliance.

Inspection of these logs does not support the idea of a visit first to Sable. They sailed directly west by Trepassey, also as Sir George Peckham tells, went ashore to examine Placentia, then bore northwesterly, afterward southwesterly as if making for Cape Breton. The whole distance run southward in all

the courses—the actual southing—would not extend to the latitude of Sable if put into one direct course, but there were northerly courses also, and the difference of northing and southing, or the largest actual change in latitude, is less than half the distance required to reach the latitude of Sable. The results of computation show substantial agreement in the two seamen's reckonings. The testimony of the logs is explicit that the wreck was not at that island, but points unmistakably to Cape Breton.

It is obvious that dead reckoning, and when held eight days, can yield only approximate results. The figures given me show that Cox and Paul differ in latitude eleven miles and in longitude twenty-six miles, and one may be rather surprised that their variance is not greater. The log of Cox will make the place of the wreck latitude forty-five degrees, fifty-seven minutes, and longitude sixty degrees, seven minutes, which is in the vicinity of Louisburg; and that of Paul gives latitude forty-six degrees, eight minutes, which looks toward the harbor of Sydney, while the longitude, sixty degrees, thirty-three minutes, lies far to the west. In a problem precluding accurate solution it will be sufficient to presume upon some point of the southeasterly part of the island of Cape Breton, as from Gabarus Bay to Scatari Island or from Louisburg to Sydney.

If Clarke really told Sir Humphrey that they were southeasterly of Sable he seems so far astray that we can hardly believe him sincere, yet if previously on the other ships it was the opinion that they were in

about forty-four degrees, it appears to be proof that these navigators had made large errors in their reckonings. Such opinion is the more surprising since then they had the same log now furnished us, and its testimony should have shown that they had made no such southing as would carry them to forty-four degrees, the latitude of Sable. This difficulty is not easily removed, but certainly to one now the log-entries have superior and final claim to show the position of the ships. Evidently these seamen were deceived. Baffling winds, currents of whose trend and strength they knew nothing, bore them far from their presumed position. Now it is a new sad tale nearly every year, some treacherous, undiscerned current driving a noble ship toward Cape Sable or Cape Race, those "graveyards of ships." These seamen did not make the progress southward as they seemed to think. Their last day and night's run — twelve to twenty leagues — northwesterly was before a strong and then vehement south wind. It carried them unsuspecting to the vicinity of Cape Breton.

It is a fair implication of Hayes' story that on the day after the disaster, while they waited for clearing weather, his company were bewildered as men lost, and he mentions that they judged the land was not far off, either the continent or some island, yet some thought they were in the Bay of St. Lawrence. Such views are incompatible with a presumption that they were near and south of Sable, as Clarke's tale would imply, but fully agree with an intention first to make Cape Breton and the belief that they had been driven

into the wide passage between it and Newfoundland. But again he implies the direction of their voyage as he states that "from Cape Race to Cape Breton is eighty-seven leagues in which navigation we spent eight days." The Sable Island opinion should be summarily dismissed.

During the present study I chanced to learn that this problem had been considered in a paper published by the Royal Society of Canada in its volume for 1897.[1] It seems to have been occasioned by an assertion of the Sable Island opinion in the previous volume. The writer rejects that view, and with forcible arguments makes conclusions in behalf of Cape Breton. He sets aside the statement of Clarke, uses only the log of Master Cox, gives the full computation of it and has result, latitude forty-five degrees, fifty-seven minutes, and longitude sixty degrees, twelve minutes. This points to the Bay of Louisburg and he thinks the wreck may have occurred on the north side of the bay. A doubt may arise if this wind-driven fleet could sail in, lose one vessel, then the two should tack and sail directly out though the entrance is but half a mile wide, and remain as near as they could to the scene of wreck and yet have no knowledge of the near land but by soundings. The writer regards the report of shoals and sand bars as agreeing with present conditions. Still one may think three centuries have changed the soundings in no slight degree. He also finds probable corroboration in the fact that some fifty years ago there was found

[1] "Transactions," Series 2, Vol. 3, Sec. 2, pp. 113-129.

on the shore of the bay an old gun — a hooped cannon of ancient style — said to be that of the sixteenth century, which might well be a relic of Sir Humphrey's expedition.

What changeful fortunes! This man of honorable birth and station, commended and successful in military service and civil administration; favored by the great queen and knighted in her service; student of science and history, author and explorer; aiming at achievement by colonization; holding royal patent to possess foreign lands; gathering a fleet of eleven ships for his purpose; gratified if not satisfied at each new stage of success thus far; hopeful to win further honor and emolument in the coming enterprise. But here his star no more ascendant begins to sink. The voyage returns only losses. He faints not; expends fortune and credit; equips after dubious years five ships for a second venture; one abandons him; another is forced home; with weakened force he begins his work; soon another ship with supplies and men is broken in pieces on an angry shore; two little craft alone remain, abject remnant compared with the Devon fleet formerly launched on his grand design; but the man himself tossed on an uncertain sea in a puny thing like a fishing boat, carries still an undaunted heart; and not in the least unhinged by loss and the compelled surrender, in bold self-confidence promises to himself and his men another endeavor and sure achievement, for thus hope buoys up the strong as the weak, while the distressing fact was concealed,— one more last quick stage in

fortune's wreck, his doom two weeks later to sink in riotous waves in mid-ocean.

When the crews, shocked and terrified at the loss of their flagship, had gained composure in the ensuing day, they disclosed to their grieved but steadfast leader their wreck of courage, their sense that further endeavor was futile. Supplies and men had been devoured by the angry sea, so now weak and timid, they entreated Sir Humphrey to give over exploration. He yielded and gave the word "Homewards," a bitter necessity to him if grateful to them. On Saturday, 31st, the return voyage began.

Twice in the days following did Gilbert leave his cockle-shell craft and go on board of the Hind, once to see the surgeon for an injured foot. Urgently entreated by friends to remain and not trust himself to the smaller vessel, he refused, declaring "I will not forsake my little company with whom I have passed so many storms and perils," a dictate of a generous spirit, rather than true manly prudence. Captain Hayes says that "he would not bend to reason," and also states that the Squirrel was overladen, by her supplies and chiefly by her guns and material to put her in fighting trim, which does not accredit the general with wise seamanship; yet how easy for one to think what has been will be, and so Gilbert could be confident that his vessel, after years of service at sea, could endure other storms and having just crossed the ocean could make sure a return. It seems to have been his own vessel and he undoubtedly had special regard for it, and so casting off fear or

prudence which his friends would infuse he went back to his own. They had made some three hundred leagues of the voyage. Later there broke upon them a severe storm in which they battled with such "outragious seas" as few of their seamen had ever encountered. They had reached the longitude of the Azores but were far northward. The men of the larger vessel watched the Squirrel in imminent peril with anxiety, and could see the undismayed General sitting in the stern with his book, who was able once to hail them cheerily, "as near heaven by sea as by land." The gale continued into the night of September 9, and in the midnight hours, while the intrepid Sir Humphrey held his little bark in the lead, to the lookout of the Golden Hind its "light suddenly went out," and the searching eyes of watchful seamen could find it no more, though unwilling to accept the manifest truth that one last high whelming wave had borne the Squirrel down in terrible plunge, making there in mid-ocean the end of the man and his schemes, and his unmarked burial place, who, as Hakluyt wrote, "is deserving honorable remembrance for his good mind and expense of life in so virtuous an enterprise."

Pitiable was the fate of this English knight and adventurer. A series of disasters brought to an inglorious ending a grand enterprise. One failure among many indeed, but to us possibly having larger meaning. We may especially deplore it, for manifestly the history of Maine and adjacent coast has been a loser. Careful exploration with full and precise

record was intended, as was declared on leaving Newfoundland, "without delay to proceed unto the south not omitting any river or bay which in all that large tract of land appeared to our view worthy of search." An important member of the expedition lost with the wrecked flagship, was a Hungarian scholar, Stephen Parmenius, writer of elegant Latin, having the duty to preserve descriptions of places visited and all conditions bearing upon establishment of colonies. Valuable for use in these centuries of historical study would have been information then obtained regarding Maine's rivers, harbors, its soil, minerals, forest trees and also its native inhabitants. We would thankfully welcome even one-half as full description of the Maine coast as Captain Hayes then wrote out regarding Newfoundland.

It was a grievous overthrow of an important undertaking for England and the extension of her domain, but also to us now it has sent down a historical disappointment. The "might have been" is ever a serious factor in human affairs. By Sir Humphrey's success, information would have been put in store for him and assigns then and for the following century of actual entrance, but not alone information but a colony on the Maine coast then or a few years later can be named as a possibility. Likewise had Gilbert lived and carried forward his colonial schemes, and established enduring colonies on Newfoundland or on the Bay of Fundy, they might have debarred the French, and the rivalry of the next one hundred and fifty years and

bloody contention for supremacy in North America had been avoided.

The narrative, however, shows that Sir Humphrey's ships carried out ill-assorted elements, many vicious and lawless men, and it may be doubted if any colony he then could have set on foot would have had more than transient existence. If his brother Raleigh's failed in the next years, what better expectation for his scheme? Still it is agreeable to allow imagination to spare this bitter disaster and to send him on to explore and colonize and so to build fair structures changing thereby the course of history in beginning the United States.

Gilbert's opinions had been formed favorable to southern latitudes, and had he been able to sail to the southward as first intended, the whole outcome of the enterprise might have been different. At Newfoundland, however, his preferences for the south were supplanted. Visions of riches seized his ardent, eager mind, more glowing visions because of the wreck of property and penury in preceding years. The man of minerals, Daniel of Buda, discovered rocks laden with rich silver ores as he believed. Specimens were put aboard of the admiral, yet covertly, in view of the cupidity of the crews or the merchants on shore. In emphatic asseveration he assured the General that the ores were rich, were abundant, no need to seek further, all he could want was there,— and Sir Humphrey's head was turned. He had been a student of the miserable science of the times, had studied alchemy, had dabbled in schemes to transmute

iron into copper, was ready for the tales of this Daniel of science, was equally or more visionary than other explorers of the New World of his times who imagined gold and silver ore was scattered profusely there for him who knew how to search, and Frobisher just before had laden a ship with shining worthless dirt. Sir Humphrey's hopes ran high, his future success, unto what might it not attain? He hastened his designs, went on to search the south also, and when the wreck of the Delight broke all his immediate plans, when tossing on the sea deciding to give over, when sailing on his fateful return voyage, fortune was his in hope, riches and honor and the gratitude of his queen. In the mournful plight of turning back he was buoyant; another and larger expedition would be set out, Elizabeth would furnish money and ships at his word, and the *ignis-fatuus* gleaming to beckon him to greater achievement and renown was some shining silicate in Newfoundland rocks. Captain Hayes tells of his hopes, his plans, his constant talk of "something" that held the key of future success, which Hayes finally discovered to be those ores and all they promised. So vivid these hopes, so engrossing his dreams of gains yet to be, that they broke his self-control, and when on the Golden Hind at sea, the memory of those specimen rocks lost in the wreck so roiled in him that seeing the boy who, formerly ordered to get them from the Delight, had forgotten, he seized him and gave him a sound drubbing so long after.

Weakness may be joined with strength. This man had strength. He planned, he achieved, yet in the

last grasp lost; is one among the valiant purposeful souls who through danger, difficulty, repeated failure, opened the way to the possession of America. Maine lost, we believe, in his loss, for one of his men wrote of plans including more than Cape Breton,— "a voyage to Norumbega," and in the shadowy or real Norumbega, Maine was always central.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert deserves honorable recognition; — a man of visions and also of deeds; a man of large hopes and ambitions and also of performance in lighter degree. The ocean's violence was mightier than he, broke his plans but not his courage nor his will, and then took him to his rest. But he has this place of honor on the page of the ancient narrator,— "first of our nation that carried people to erect an habitation and government in those northerly countries of America."

SOME HISTORICAL OPINIONS REGARDING THE WRECK OF THE FLAGSHIP, THE DELIGHT, AFTER SAILING FROM ST. JOHN'S

1. Cape Breton.

Grahame's "North America," 1827. "Approaching continent . . . was dismayed by the inhospitable aspect of the coast of Cape Breton. . . largest vessel was shipwrecked."

Palfrey's "History of New England," 1858. "Off Cape Breton."

"Encylopedia Brittanica," 1879. "Near Cape Breton."

Hannay's "Acadia," 1880. "On the rocks of Cape Breton."

Harper's "Cyclopedia of United States History," 1881. "Off Cape Breton."

"Dictionary of National Biography," 1890. "On flats and shoals between Cape Breton and Newfoundland."

"Universal Cyclopedia," Johnson, 1895. "Wrecked on Cape Breton."

"Transactions of Royal Society of Canada," 1897. (G. Patterson). Cape Breton, probably Bay of Louisburg.

2. SABLE ISLAND.

Brown's "History of Island of Cape Breton," 1869. "By the reckoning . . . on flats off the west end of Sable Island."

Murdock's "Nova Scotia." "One vessel lost there," *i. e.*, Sable Island.

Prince's "New England Chronology." "Loses ship on the shoals of Sablon," *i. e.*, Sable Island.

"Transactions of Royal Society of Canada," 1896. (Brymner). Accepts Sable Island.

"Narrative and Critical History of America" (chapter by B. F. DeCosta). "In latitude forty-four degrees north, near Sable Island."

"Historians' History of the World" (Frost). "Among the shoals near Sable Island."

3. INDEFINITE REGARDING LOCALITY.

Fox Bourne's "English Seamen under the Tudors." "Sighted Cape Breton . . . . struck a rock." [Narrative has many erroneous statements].

Froude's "Forgotten Worthies, in Short Studies." "Explored coast south from St. John's . . . . as near the coast as they dared . . . . vessel lost."

Belknap's "Biographies," 1798. Coasted along southern part of Newfoundland, intending "to make Cape Breton and the Isle of Sable; entangled among shoals . . . . the Delight struck . . . . was lost."

Holmes' "Annals." "From Cape Race towards Cape Breton . . cast away."

Hildreth's "History of the United States." "Set sail for the continent . . . . struck . . . . was lost."

Ridpath's "History of the United States." "Off the coast of Massachusetts."

Appleton's "Cyclopedia of American Biography." "Set sail for Norumbega . . . . vessel foundered."

"Modern Cyclopedia." "Sailed to explore coast . . . . lost in storm."

Bancroft's "History of the United States," edition 1876. "Intending to visit the coast of the United States . . . . had not proceeded towards the south beyond the latitude of Wiscasset [Me.] . . . . wrecked."

General Chamberlain's "Maine, Her Place in History." "Encountered a terrific storm, as some say, not far off Monhegan." But this narrates Gilbert's death, not the previous wreck of the Admiral.

Prowse's "History of Newfoundland," 1896. "Lost off Cape Sable."

"International Encyclopedia," 1897. "Vessel lost off Cape Sable, or Cape Breton Island."

"Memoir of Gilbert" (E. F. Slafter), Prince Society, 1904. "Fell into dangerous shoals probably not far from the island [Sable] he intended to visit . . . . sailed northwesterly . . . ran aground."

TERCENTENARY OF THE LANDING OF DE MONTS AT ST. CROIX ISLAND

On Saturday, June 25, 1904, occurred the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of de Monts and his fellow colonists at St. Croix Island. The exercises in the forenoon were at the island, and, with the other exercises of the day, were under the direction of a committee of citizens of the St. Croix Valley, of which Gen. B. B. Murray, of Calais, was the chairman and Mr. James Vroom, of St. Stephen, N. B., was the secretary. This committee was aided in its work by a committee of the Maine Historical Society.

Anchored north of the island during the day were the U. S. S. Detroit, Captain Dillingham, the French cruiser Troude, Captain Aubry, the British cruiser Columbine, Captain Hill, the U. S. Revenue Cutter Woodbury, and the Dominion Revenue Cutter Curlew, and many steam yachts and smaller craft.

The many distinguished guests and others interested in the celebration made their way to the island from Calais and other points. The weather was not as favorable as those interested desired, and the arrangements for the exercises at the island were somewhat marred by showers ; but happily a tent had been provided for the convenience of the guests and in this tent, adorned with flags of the United States,

ST. CROIX ISLAND, FROM THE AMERICAN SHORE

Great Britain, France and the Dominion of Canada, the services were held.

Hon. Charles E. Swan, of Calais, presided. His address was as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen: — By invitation of the Maine Historical Society and a committee of the citizens of the St. Croix Valley, we have gathered here to-day to commemorate events which transpired upon this island three hundred years ago; events which, though futile for the purpose for which they were designed and even disastrous to those engaged in them, had in the after-time such a dominating influence in settling grave issues of boundary between England and the United States, as to render them of signal historic importance.

The story of the ill-starred venture of the brave Sieur de Monts and his colony, and their stay upon this island, will be told to us to-day by gentlemen well versed in all its details, and it will be one of absorbing interest, especially to those of us who live by the banks of the beautiful river to which de Monts gave the sacred name of St. Croix. Meanwhile it has been made my pleasing duty to extend, in behalf of the municipality of Calais, a cordial welcome to all who honor our city by their presence here to-day, either to take part in or to enjoy the exercises of this occasion.

Of the Maine Historical Society, an organization now venerable in years and enrolling in its membership many of our most distinguished citizens, and which took the initiative in organizing this commemoration, permit me to say that it has so well performed the work of historic research, to which in its beginning it dedicated itself, as to entitle it to the gratitude of our State and all lovers of veritable history. By painstaking, personal effort it has culled the facts from tradition and gathered to its storehouse a mass of historic material which will be of priceless value to the future historian of Maine. A society, so noble in motive and achievement, does great honor to our city by its presence here to-day and we welcome it with thanks, that its field-day pilgrimage this year brought it to this historic spot.

And to you gentlemen who represent other historical organizations and the governments of France, Canada and the United

States, we extend a hearty welcome. Your coming gives added interest and dignity to this occasion which we fully appreciate.

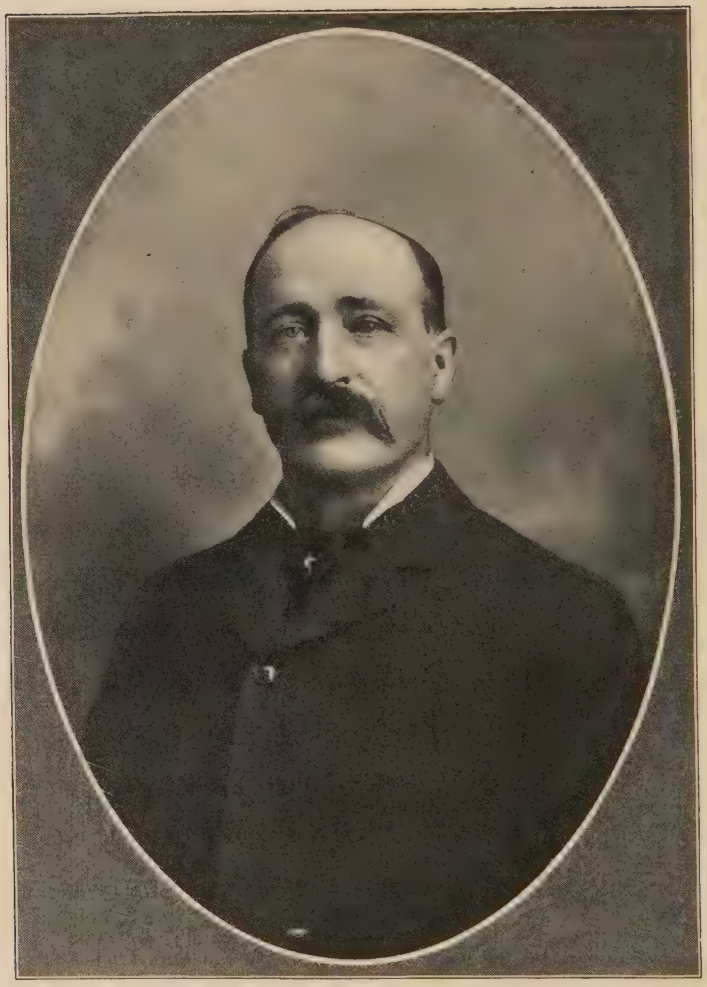
And to you gentlemen representing the naval and marine services of France, England and the United States, here by order of your several governments, thus testifying again to their interest in these exercises, we extend a most cordial welcome and rejoice that your first mutual visit to the St. Croix River is one of comradeship and peace.

And ladies and gentlemen, we extend to you all, the hospitality of our homes and city to-day and a welcome to all of implied privilege and pleasure.

I have now, ladies and gentlemen, the honor to present to you his Worship the Mayor of St. Stephen, Mr. Almon I. Teed, who will address you in behalf of St. Stephen and the adjacent municipalities in New Brunswick.

Mr. Teed said:

Mr. Chairman: — The duties assigned to me on this memorable and happy occasion are very pleasant indeed, and I shall try to make them pleasant to you by being very brief. It gives me great pleasure to stand here on this historic island and in the name of the united people of the St. Croix Valley to extend an earnest and a hearty welcome to you, our visitors, among whom are men eminent in war, science, literature and statecraft. Three hundred years ago de Monts and his brave followers landed on the little island and planted the seeds of European civilization, from which sprang all the progress and advance of that splendid and wonderful civilization that has spread over this North American continent, which at that time was one vast and unbroken wilderness. To the French belongs the honor of planting that civilization on this continent, and it is on this account that we are more than pleased to have the privilege of extending a special welcome to another eminent Frenchman, who, as one of our visitors, has landed here to-day to help us celebrate this three hundredth anniversary of the landing of his eminent countryman. I refer to the special representative of the French Republic, M. Klesckowski. It also gives me great pleasure to extend a special welcome to the representatives of the French, British and American fleets, whose presence contributes so largely to the success



HON. ALMON I. TEED

of this celebration, and in the name of the people of both sides of the river, to offer the entire freedom of the St. Croix Valley, and I know that I voice the feelings of all the people in extending to the members of the Royal Historical Society and to the members of the Maine Historical Society also a hearty welcome. It is to these societies in a great measure that we are indebted for the success of this celebration.

It was said by a speaker at Annapolis that he wondered why de Monts, after seeing the beauties of Annapolis, had settled on the St. Croix, but to us, who live on the St. Croix, the only wonderment is why, after seeing the St. Croix, he ever went back to Port Royal.

Three hundred years is not a long time in the history of the world, or in the history of a nation like China, but as time can only be correctly measured by what transpires during its flight, the three hundred years that have passed since de Monts landed here has been a long and a very important period in the history of the nations represented here to-day, for many changes and wonderful advances during that time have been made by these nations.

Three hundred years ago James I had just begun to reign in England; Shakespeare had not finished writing his inimitable plays; Bacon was writing his masterly digest of English law and jurisprudence; and they, with Ben Jonson, were, we might say, laying the foundation of Anglo-Saxon literature, and a little over one-fifth of that whole period Victoria the Good reigned over the British Empire, and many and wonderful are the changes that have taken place, and advances made in science, art and literature.

De Monts landed here sixteen years before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth, and nearly a century and three-quarters before the United States was born. Time will not permit me to refer to any more of the historical events that have transpired during that time and have so signally affected the peoples here represented, but many of these will be referred to by the learned and eminent men whom we have with us to-day, and are to follow me; but I must say that although we, the people here represented, have, during the three hundred years past, been engaged in deadly strife with each other, it must give us great pleasure

and satisfaction to see the general amity and good feeling that exist between these three great nations to-day. Nearly a century has passed since any serious difference has occurred between us, and I hope and trust that many more centuries will pass before the guns of the vessels now anchored here in the peaceful and beautiful St. Croix will be turned against each other, and I also trust that this celebration in which we have all joined so heartily will wipe out and obliterate the memory of all past unpleasantness.

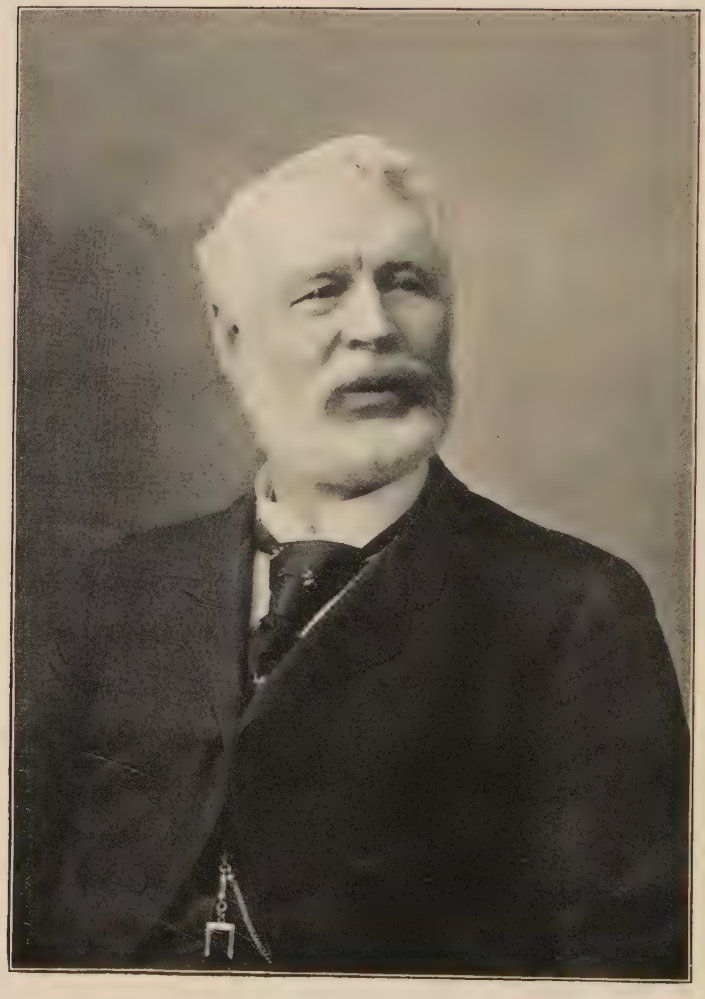
Dr. Swan then introduced the Rev. Henry S. Burrage, of Portland, who on the part of the Maine Historical Society, responded to these greetings. He said:

In behalf of the Maine Historical Society it is my happy privilege to respond to these most cordial greetings. We who are here as the representatives of the Society, and indeed its whole membership, take a very deep interest in the proceedings of this day which carry us back to the beginnings of colonization within the limits of the State of Maine.

We are in the opening years of a new century. So were de Monts and his associates when three hundred years ago they landed on this little island of St. Croix, and entered upon the beginnings of a settlement in this almost unknown world.

Is it now a new era with us? Do we feel its breath upon our foreheads, and are we filled with high and noble impulses as we enter upon the task which the twentieth century has for us? So was it a new era with de Monts and his followers. They had already been stirred by its inspirations, and they had hastily seized the opportunity which the opening of the sixteenth century offered to them here.

In religion they were Protestants and Roman Catholics. Not long had they thus stood side by side. What had happened in France that brought them together upon this little island inspired with a common hope of making a new France here in this western world? The history of the kingdom in the preceding century is written large, and the story is plain. There had been a long, fierce, at times uncertain struggle for religious liberty, and the victory — which in its largest sense was for Protestant and Roman



HON. CHARLES E. SWAN

Catholic alike — had at length been won. While the conflict was in progress, it had involved noblemen, scholars, statesmen, and the king on his throne, as well as peasants, artisans, tradesmen — in a word the whole nation. This struggle for religious liberty, most heroically continued for many years and with varying fortunes, had at length been brought to a happy issue, and in 1598, only six years before de Monts landed here, Henry IV, King of France, recognizing the "frightful troubles, confusion and disorders" to which on his accession to the throne he found his kingdom a prey, promulgated the famous Edict of Nantes, which gave liberty of conscience to all the inhabitants of the land, granting to his subjects the right to dwell anywhere in the royal dominions, and to meet for religious purposes without being subjected to inquiry, vexed, molested or constrained to do anything contrary to the dictates of conscience. What this meant to many of the king's subjects, long harrassed, tormented, it is difficult for us now even to imagine. The Edict of Nantes was to thousands a call to a new and better life. Voices many had urged, even demanded religious liberty. At last it had been granted. Somewhat tardily Parliament in the following year, 1599, formally entered this important document upon its registers, so confirming to warring, factional France, Catholic and Protestant alike, the blessings of religious liberty.

Thus it was that in this French colony, led hither by de Monts three hundred years ago, Protestants and Roman Catholics were found side by side — de Monts himself a Protestant — both minister and priest being included in the personnel of the expedition.

Halcyon days were these indeed for those who had known only strife and contention; and for twelve years, or until the close of the reign of Henry IV, the Edict of Nantes was in full operation. Then followed unceasing assaults upon the rights guaranteed by the edict, and at length, in 1685, came its revocation — the culmination of a series of events in which religious liberty in France, secured at the cost of so much treasure and the best blood of the kingdom, was overthrown.

But the hands upon the dial were not to be turned backward In 1599, the very year in which the Edict of Nantes was confirmed by Parliament, or it may be, as is now thought by some recent writers, in 1604, the year in which de Monts and his little

company of Protestants and Catholics landed here, the great apostle of soul liberty, Roger Williams, was born. Was religious liberty to suffer for a while disastrous overthrow in France? It was to have a new birth on this side of the sea, and to come ere long to a development of which men had only dreamed in earlier days.

And now to us, religious liberty is so common a thing that we fail oftentimes, Protestants and Roman Catholics alike, to estimate aright our indebtedness for a boon of such priceless value. De Monts, three hundred years ago, could have said, "With a great price obtained I this freedom." We, however, who are here to-day, can say with a feeling of pride which we would not suppress, "But I was free born." Ours is the possession of absolute liberty of conscience. The civil magistrate cannot intermeddle in religious concerns in any way so long as liberty does not become license. And men everywhere are coming to share in this great blessing. Mr. Bryce, the distinguished historian and statesman, has recently said, "that one of the chief services the United States has rendered the world, consists in the example set in the complete disjunction of religious worship and belief from the machinery of civil government."

Will anyone say Mr. Bryce is not right? Certainly we who are in the full enjoyment of religious liberty — a vision of which France had three hundred years ago and then lost — may justly felicitate ourselves at this opening of the twentieth century that religious liberty is our prized possession — that ours are more than the halcyon days which the people of France enjoyed when de Monts and his associates sailed into this beautiful river and landed on this little island — the forerunners of a mighty host from all the great nations of Europe, who were to find here homes and to build better than they knew the empire that was to be.

Hon. L. J. Tweedie, Premier of New Brunswick, followed. He said it was very gratifying to him to be present at the commemoration, and he thought that St. Croix Island was the most fitting of all places at which to celebrate the landing of de Monts. The

speaker humorously touched upon the laxity sometimes found in the customs service on both sides of the river. Mr. Tweedie expressed Judge Landry's regrets at not being able to accept the Society's invitation to be present. In conclusion he made eloquent mention of his gratification at being present, and on behalf of the people of New Brunswick offered greetings from that province.

Mr. J. F. Ryan, principal of the Calais High School, then read the following poem written by Mrs. Ida Vose Woodbury:

THE ISLAND'S STORY

Beautiful Isle on the breast of the river,
With green, restful glades and with rocks wild and free,
Whence cam'st thou here? from the deeps of forever?
Tell me thy story, thy strange history.

Soft, verdant hills, fragrant fields and deep valleys
Slope to the water on either fair side,
Bright summer sunshine now lingers and dallies,—
In forest shadows how long did'st thou hide?

Tell me thy story, O, beautiful Island,
What mean these scars, these deep clefts and these caves?
Did darkness once cover thy glens and thy highland?
Thine only companions the winds and the waves?

And then from its bosom the long stillness breaking,
Came forth a tale of the past unto me:—
"Centuries ago, from a dark night awaking
Strange voices sounded from over the sea;

"Steps trod my shores, and my hill-sides resounded
With gun and with hammer, with new frightful voice;
My gray pebbly beach was by shallops surrounded,—
I trembled and shrank, should I fear or rejoice?

"They cleft my warm breast, and made caves in my ledges
To store in the depths their black powder and ball;
They felled all my trees, to the water's cool edges,
Cared not for their strength so majestic and tall.

"They spoke alien words, not the speech of my childhood
When Indian tribes roamed o'er hill and o'er plain,
When the smoke of the wigwam streamed up from the wild wood,—
I heard Poutrincourt, Champdoré and Champlain.

"I heard of de Monts, and his fame at Port Royal
My lord and *my* master he fain now would be,
And I to my forest and river so loyal
Bewailed this invasion from over the sea.

"But they came to abide, and soon glad tones resounded,
And houses were builded, a chapel for prayer,
Green fields on the hill-sides the water's edge bounded
My beauty and grace made more sweet and more fair.

"But the rude hand of death laid its grasp on my borders,
And strong men sank down, and we laid them to rest
Far away from wild bands of the dark sea's marauders,
And the pines' tears made mantles to cover each breast.

"But now all is past, and the dim light of story
Lakes, rivers and headlands are all that remain
To tell to the Ages to come of the glory
And prowess and fame of de Monts and Champlain.

"But I am still here, I am stationed forever;
I send out my light, and it streams far and wide
All along the green shores of the beautiful river,
And safe to their harbors the vessels I guide.

"And more, vastly more, from the face of the water,
From hills, fields and homes, I see banners unfurled;
I stretch out my hands and join mother and daughter
The pride of the nations, the strength of the world.

"I look to the east as the sun gilds the ocean
The cross of St. George and St. Andrew I view;
I look to the west, and with fair rippling motion
Floats seaward and skyward the red, white and blue.

"I look to the south, through the bay, to the portal,
Where streaming from far come the peoples of earth;
Their halo of deed is their glory immortal,—
And now I rejoice in the pain of my birth.

"I divide yet unite, a more glorious mission
Fate never bestowed on an island like me;
I caught the first seeds, now the joyful fruition
A nation arising from out of the sea.

"You ask me my name? O, so many times christened —
Names vocal with history, sadness and joy,
But in those old days as my anxious ears listened
I caught the soft, musical sound of St. Croix.

"I claim this for mine: — from the country above me,
The Waweig and bay flow from regions apart,
And with my *own* stream whose waves fondle and love me,
A cross is described on the water's warm heart.

"So this is my name! In cold history's pages
We still read the deeds of de Monts and Champlain,
Fleeting their lives, but adown through all ages
Though men fail and kingdoms, the cross will remain.

"So this is my name, and this is my story
The pain and the pleasure, the gain and the loss;
I join earth's great nations, and this is my glory
Two flags linked with me in the sign of the cross."

Maj.-Gen. Joshua L. Chamberlain was then introduced and spoke as follows:

DE MONTS AND ACADIA.

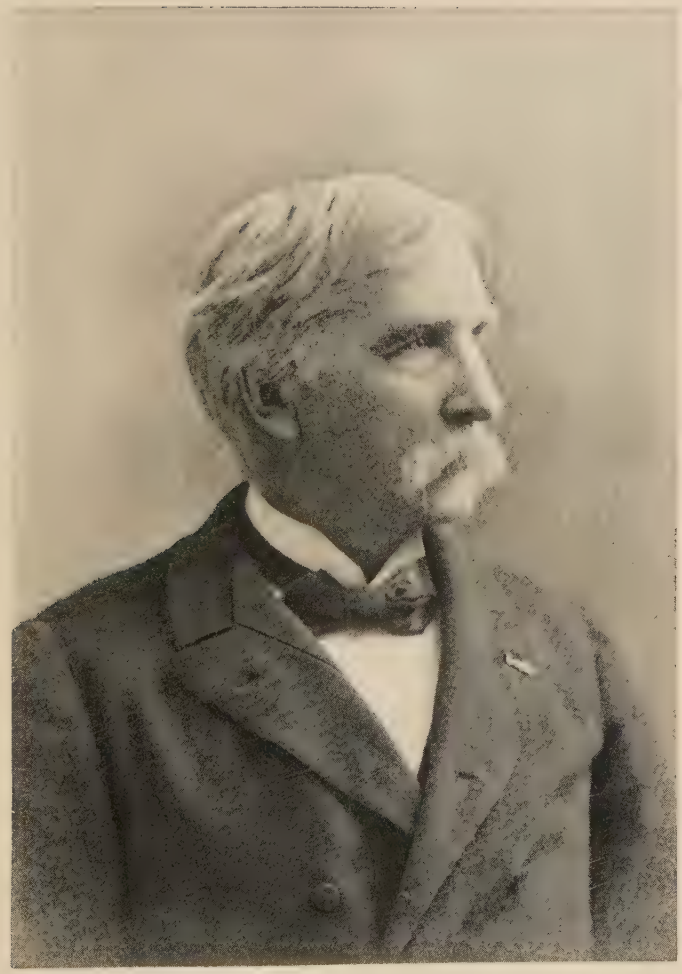
There are things done in the world which by a certain estimation are accounted failure, but which belong to an eternal process turning to its appointed ends the discontinuities of baffled endeavor. We have come to this little spot where broken beginnings were the signal of mighty adventure, and restless spirits lured by visions of empire forecast upon the morning clouds, pressed and passed like them. The great action of the times we commemorate was not the result of shrewd calculations of economic advantage; it was largely the impulse of bold imagination and adventurous spirit stirred by the foreshadowing of untested possibilities, and knowing no limit but each one's daring or dream. While the motive of pecuniary gain was not absent from even noble minds, yet this was secondary and subordinate. A deeper thought was moving them,— to turn to human good such opening store of rich material and marvellous opportunity; to signalize the valor of their race, the glory of their country and their religion; to take a foremost step in the march of civilization,— the mastery of man over nature. It was akin to the chivalry which enjoys personal hazard for a sake beyond self. What

generous ambitions, what lofty hopes hovered in these early skies, and since have "faded into the light of common day!"

We come here to recognize the worth of a remarkable man, Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts,— to commemorate in a material structure more lasting than any of his own the value of his work and the greatness of his ideas. It is moreover a part of the glory of old France of which we come with one heart to celebrate a passage,— taking this term in both senses of its meaning. Not other than glorious the passing from vision to ideal,— from dream to deed; and although passed are the facts and forms so vivid and vital in their day, who shall say passed the spirit and power, the living potentiality of good, whose course is by unrecorded ways, and its law of manifestation unsearchable?

The early claims of the various European Powers over the New World were large, and their ideas of justification vague. The Pope undertook to confer this jurisdiction upon his two favorites, Spain and Portugal; but France protested and England smiled. The source of this authority was rather difficult to find. The right to possess these shores and use these waters exclusively was said to be derived from charters given by the respective kings. But the right to grant the charters rested on no sure or determinable basis. The claim to this right was that of first discovery, and might have been well set up by England. But England early announced the principle that discovery without possession,— that is, by occupancy,— did not give right. Then the question shifted to the right to occupy.

England was not wanting in bold sea enterprise. Almost a century before the discovery of the continent she had a brisk trade with Iceland. In a single snow storm, April, 1419, twenty-five of her vessels were lost on that wild coast. But whether the race instinct of colonization was taking a rest, or because of the absorbing interest in the mythical "north-west passage to Cathay," she made no effort to follow up the discoveries of the Cabots in 1497 by acts evincing intention of permanent possession. Nor were further discoveries encouraged. Henry VIII dismissed Sebastian Cabot into Spain, as "being of no account." Master John Rut did indeed visit these coasts in 1527, and "put his men on land to search the state of these unknown regions," and after that a few roving commissions were granted, but for



GEN. JOSHUA L. CHAMBERLAIN

nearly a century England set up no claim to paramount rights anywhere within the sphere of her discoveries. When she did, it was under the pressure of private initiative or of jealousy over the operations of rival powers.

But it was with express purpose of proceeding to actual occupancy that France sent out two great exploring expeditions which were not only thorough-going in character but pregnant of consequences; that of Verrazano in 1524 which gave the name New France to these North Atlantic shores, and that of Cartier ten years later whose remarkable observations and glowing accounts deepened this nominal interest into the sense and pride of ownership. France now asserted her sole right to all the region north of Spanish Florida.

Portugal also laid early claim to the vast unbounded region north of the Newfoundland waters, which she named Cortereälis after her great discoverer in the year 1500. The name Labrador, suggestive of workmen,— possibly kidnapped after the fashion of those days,— preserves a record of her passing hand. She commenced an occupancy also about the Newfoundland shores, building a rendezvous or recruiting station for her fishermen, which lasted for a long time. Portuguese names remain here, although in disguised form; as Cape Race, from Cavo Raso — Flat Cape; and Bay of Fundy, replacing the name Baie Françoise given by the French fishermen. On the oldest Portuguese and Spanish maps this is named Rio Fundo, or Hondo,— Deep River. The English seem to have adopted the earlier name.

England kept up some intercourse with these northeastern coasts in the way of fishing interests, but in this she was far exceeded by others. In 1578 the fishing fleet of England here numbered fifty; that of Portugal and Spain twice that number; that of France three times as much. And think of what strong, indomitable blood the men of this name were: Norman — race of vikings; bold Breton — stern as Druid faith, fitful of mood as Celtic song; unquenchable Biscayan — that strange Basque blood, fierce to hold all that was its own of old or new, although the home of its lineage and language was as unknown then as it is undiscoverable still. Strains of these inextinguishable essences remain in those who follow the old vocation off those outlying storm-swept shores, and abiding tokens in the name and character

of Cape Breton, and in the stubborn contest over treaty rights reserved in the islands of Miquelon.

The inaction of England was practically abandonment of claim. The middle of the sixteenth century saw the new world in theory, in legal presumption and probable fate, apportioned between France, Portugal and Spain.

To us, familiar with the history of modern movement in the world's masteries, it seems strange that the Norman element in English blood so prone to see an opportunity, and some might say so prompt to seize an advantage, did not follow up her claimed priority of discovery by earliest occupancy of the new Atlantic shores. But knowing also as we do, the audacity of the mingled strains in the old French blood, we do not wonder that it was this which took the forefront and held on till its last foothold was drowned in its last red tide.

But occupancy by settlement was slow. Some enterprising spirits in France had endeavored to establish little colonies or trading posts on the outer shores of Newfoundland and the lower St. Lawrence, but rash tactics or lack of deep moral purpose brought all to unhappy issue. England wakened yet more slowly, but with the deeper thought. Even the best, however, seemed to be rebuked; noble lives taken as hostage for the coming right, or bidden to wait till the human ferment out of which history is evolved had grown stronger, or the times of God's appointment should be declared. It is curious to observe the attitude of England as to this matter in an age otherwise called "golden," in the fact that a petition was made to Queen Elizabeth by Sir Humphrey Gilbert and others of like stamp to "allow of the discovery of lands in America fatally reserved to England." The terms are prophetic. "Reserved" indeed; but through what freaks of "adverse possession!" "Fatally" indeed; but by force of what decree! A charter was granted Gilbert in 1578, but it was not until 1583 that he begun a settlement in Newfoundland at what he called St. John's. But that high spirit passed out through a storm of elements off those headlands, precarious indeed and unresponding to his prayer except his higher-heard declaration of faith, "We are as near heaven by sea as by land!" With him the soul went out of his enterprise, the body soon dissolved, and the claim of England through this occupancy did not for a long time emerge.

Sir Walter Raleigh's vigorous efforts in Virginia in 1584 also came to nought. And so at the close of the 16th century there was not a European settlement north of Florida on the western Atlantic shores.

But the human ferment was going on, and the times appointed drawing near. The fierce persecution of the Huguenots was tearing asunder social bonds in France. The quarrel over the succession of King Henry of Navarre had its springs in this bitterness, and the changing play of parties permitted no one to be safe. Earnest minds were moved to seek peaceful homes in the wilderness of the New World, where they might find at least freedom of thought and action, and possibly scope for their best energies. Thus Admiral Coligny sought to plant Huguenot colonies in both South and North America, which soon succumbed to Portugal or to Spain. But the inward pressure prompted outward movement. The newly wakened spirit of adventure and the natural instinct towards material advantage were absorbed in a motive still more personal and powerful,— life unvexed by artificial and arbitrary social demands. Bitterly manifest as were the differences in the old home, these did not seem to prevent association in a common purpose for so high an end. At the accession of King Henry IV a notable company had been formed, the chief patron of which was Aylmar de Chastes, a gentleman of high standing, governor of Dieppe and a favorite of the king, to carry forward colonization on these shores "in the name of God and the King," in which we may judge from its composition the motive of realizing these personal and human ideas and purposes just mentioned had no small place.

At this juncture comes upon the scene one of the most remarkable characters of our New World history,— Samuel, Sieur de Champlain. Born on the shore of Biscay in a little seaport where departing and returning ships bringing stories of wide and wild adventure quickened into form that vague consciousness of power which stirs in all brave spirits; by nature bold, chivalrous, romantic; by early experience soldier, sailor, observer and relater; tireless in labor, patient of suffering, large of vision and generous of purpose, genial of spirit and firm of soul, he may well be regarded as providentially prepared to be called to

the solution of great problems of enterprise. We do not wonder that he had already received special marks of honor from the king. He and de Chastes seem to have come together by mutual attraction. To him the king gave special charge to observe carefully and report all he should see. The practical charge of the expedition was entrusted to Du Pont Gravé, of St. Malo in Bretagne, who had already made a voyage to this region.

This expedition explored the St. Lawrence, tarrying some time at Tadoussac, at the mouth of the mysterious Saguenay, and finally ascending to the site of Montreal. Of this exploration there were wonderful things to tell to France; and told by Champlain roused an interest such as nothing had done before. He came back with high hopes, but found that his generous patron had passed away, and with him the supporting hand, if not the animating spirit, of the enterprise.

But he found also that the king had given a new charter to a gentleman of equally high character, and an officer of the king's household, Pierre de Monts, Seigneur of the Commune of Guast in Santonge, a region of which La Rochelle was the natural center, and strongly Huguenot in its proclivities, as was the family of de Monts. This charter was given November 8, 1603. It conveyed to de Monts in elaborate terms trading and seignorial rights to the New World territory between the for tieth and forty-sixth parallels of latitude,— those of Philadelphia and Montreal of to-day,— this territory being designated La Cadie, or Acadia. With this came the appointment of lieutenant general, and by inference vice admiral, of this vast and vaguely known domain of Acadia.

With reciprocal personal respect and the sympathy of like purpose, these two men joined hands and hearts in the enterprise now more definitely thought out and practically organized than any before. De Monts had been companion of Chauvin in a former voyage to these northeastern shores, and had the confidence of experience. Champlain again received appointment as special geographer and reporter for the king. They enlisted also the interest and companionship of Jean de Poutrincourt, Baron of St. Just in Bretagne, a man of ample means and large of mind and heart, pronounced by King Henry "one of the most honorable

and valliant men of the kingdom." Loyal as he was to the king, he was nevertheless one of those who chafed under conditions where the shifting policy of leaders and the fickleness of followers made their very loyalty a torment. He now, more than anything else, and more than any of his companions of the voyage, sought a home amidst the simple or savage elements of an unknown world.

Thus was ordained and organized that famous adventure of Acadia, fraught with human hopes as high and fancies as wide as its sequel was to be bright with characters of courage and devotion and stormy with vicissitude and tragedy.

On the 7th of March, 1604, de Monts gathered his company for the brave adventure of establishing the little beginnings of a large new life in a vast new world. It was a highly and deeply mixed company. With him were gentlemen of all schools of religion and politics, and others whose interests did not reach to these abstractions of faith or reason. Besides such gentlemen as Champlain, Poutrincourt and Biencourt son of the latter, were the Sieurs Ralleau, his private secretary, D'Orville, de Beaumont, Fougeray, La Motte Bourioli, and Boulay, one of Poutrincourt's captains in the wars of France. Du Pont Gravé was entrusted with the command of a second ship which was to follow. Of less rank there were Champdoré, a master-builder, but as it appeared an indifferent seaman, Captains Timothée and Foulque; two gentlemen, Sourin and Gaveston, as superintendents of building; Master Simon a metallurgist, and Jean Duval, a locksmith and troublesome fellow, who followed Champlain with mutinies and treacheries until he found his end at the end of a rope at Quebec, years after. Of the better part of this company were several skilled surgeons, as also Huguenot ministers and Catholic priests, each full of their different zeals.

Moreover, de Monts had availed himself of his charter privilege of impressing some vagabonds and ex-convicts, to sustain the lower parts of the unrehearsed drama. Here came into play elements of both comedy and tragedy,— "divine comedy," it might be called,— for it is said the Huguenot ministers and Romish priests enforced their religious arguments with fists and feet,— the performance taking a more tragic shade as the

incongruous characters in the ship's forward hold indulged their inverted harmonies with catastrophic cadence.

De Monts, although a Huguenot, was wisely liberal. He made good friends with his over-numbering Catholic comrades. While having his own Huguenot ministers, he had yielded to the demand on the part of the newly converted king to found a Catholic mission among the natives of his Acadian domain. The French Jesuit historian, de Charlevoix, noting this complaisance or compromise, demurs at its honesty,— which is perhaps remarkable criticism considering the ethical maxims of his own society. Commenting on this liberality, he says de Monts "was in other respects a very honest man." Placed as he was, de Monts had to be, no doubt, something of a politician. Although a Calvinist, he was evidently not a Puritan in the matter of conformity.

He was not so tolerant, however, of infringements on his charter rights of trade. One of the first things he did on his arrival in these waters was to confiscate the ship and cargo of a fur-trader he found unwittingly dealing in the wares de Monts believed "fatally reserved" to himself. The harbor, however, in compensation or compliment to the captain of the confiscated ship, he named after him,—Rossignol. The romantic name is since displaced by that of Liverpool,— a bird of quite another song. Remaining for a month in a neighboring harbor, named from the circumstance of a sheep falling overboard, "Isle au Mouton," — which name remains to-day,— Port Mouton,— perhaps from its very insignificance, provoking no rivalries or retaliations.

Taking a part of his little fleet around the promontory of Nova Scotia to St. Mary's Bay, de Monts with Champlain and Poutrincourt made a cursory exploration of the shores of the Baie Françoise, since named Fundy. They recognized the attractions of the places since known as Port Royal and St. John, but passing these they finally entered Passamaquoddy Bay and the river they named St. Croix. Finding in all their excursion no place better for their purpose, de Monts betook himself and his company to this little island where we stand to-day; advantageous for his immediate preliminary work, humble in comparison with the magnitude of his possessory rights and his high commission, but not too humble for a safe beginning of the

things he had in vision. Selected mainly, no doubt, for its favorable position for an advanced military post, surrounded by broad waters, commanding a clear view out in all directions, and in its topography well capable of defence, this island justifies the wisdom of his choice. He went to work with a promptness and rapidity of progress which show the completeness of his preparations, the skill of his minor tactics and the vigor of his will. With his gun-platforms on the northern and southern extremities of the island, looking towards the main approaches by river and sea, his barracks and magazines well enclosed, his buildings for living and labor well placed and well constructed, and the chapel standing for what was common in their faith conspicuous in the midst, the little colony was furnished with the proper elements and instrumentalities for the maintenance of a military post which was to herald the advance of civil and social order in the wilds of the New World. And why may we not do him the courtesy to believe that his observant and far-seeing eye took in all the propitious natural conditions on these beautiful shores of the St. Croix? This was not merely a military headquarters; the buildings in their location and structure and appointments, and the utensils and furnishment of them, reflected some of the best usages of civilized life; and this sojourn might accord thereto, so far as it could be either life or civilized without the presence and saving grace of womanhood. Noble spirits, bright minds, firm hearts, holding to their ideals, with nerve and energy to preserve discipline among a heterogeneous throng of subordinates, and with the force and dignity to command themselves and brace themselves for further forward movement,— such were the men who stood together for that first trial of cultured, regular life in this wilderness of a promised land. But this soul of manhood upborne by its high ideals was to be tested on a lower range.

Wishing to search seasonably for favorable ground for further developments, de Monts sent out Champlain in a little shallop of sixteen tons, and a crew of ten men with two Indian guides, to make explorations westward. They passed the picturesque topography in which they were most impressed with what led them to name it "Mount Desert," thence following the eastern shore quite thoroughly explored the noble Penobscot as far as

the falls at Kenduskeag, the site of what was real in the storied "Norumbega." Thence along the western shores down past the St. Georges, Pemaquid and Sheepscot Rivers, to the entrance of the Kennebec, where bad weather is rather strangely given as the reason (although it was at the time of what we call the equinoctial storms, and he was perhaps experiencing the peculiarities of the "chops of the Kennebec"), which led him to abandon further progress, and to make his way back to this little island of the St. Croix.

Of that winter's dire experience I will not attempt even a half-tone picture. The details are well enough known to hold our pitying regard. The story has been told by several witnesses or near observers, of varying degrees of sympathy with the undertaking or with the master himself. Champlain has given his clear, straightforward story; and L'Escarbot, the bright Paris lawyer of poetic and perhaps Huguenot proclivities who came over to Port Royal the year following, has added interesting incidents of this ill-starred overture of Acadia.

It was a winter of unusual inclemency; the temperature and imprisoning ice and snow made sore restrictions, and some privations are complained of by the historians which seem strange to us,— such as the lack of wood and of water fit to drink, abundant as they were all around on the neighboring shores, which the thick ice itself might enable them with some ingenuity to procure. Nor can we easily understand the necessity of resorting wholly to salted provisions, in the immediate vicinity of so much fish and game from which even the inclemency of winter could not wholly cut them off. But in spite of intelligent supervision, and the skill of accomplished and faithful physicians, that dread disease, the scurvy, (called by the colonists, somewhat unaccountably, "mal de la terre," whereas, it is more likely to appear in the privations at sea than those of land), laid more than a third of them in unknown graves which the swirling currents have now swept to oblivion. It was a season of trial and suffering for all, in which only those minds which had some resources of stored vitality in themselves, and the power of throwing off depressing influences by inward energies came out whole. L'Escarbot tells us that those who survived kept up their spirits by various pleasantries, among which was the writing

of spicy pamphlets, and exchange of humorous pranks. Not a few took early occasion to go back to France. It may be fair to say the best remained.

Early in the summer, Pont Gravé came with supplies from France. But such experience led to inevitable inferences. They must seek a place of milder temperature and better physical conditions. On the 17th of June de Monts fitted up a small bark, and with Champlain and a number of other gentlemen, and a crew of twenty sailors, having also an Indian guide and his wife, started out for further explorations to find a more fitting abode under softer airs. Passing the Penobscot, they explored the Kennebec, and, for some reason we cannot understand, ignoring the attractions of Casco Bay, since claimed to be most beautiful of "hundred harbored Maine," they drew into the Saco region, where they were well received by tribes of Indians new to them, and heard of new ways of Indian life among those still westward. Coursing then along the Massachusetts coast they tarried a while at what is now Boston, and then at Marshfield, and finally visited the place of Pilgrim Plymouth. But they turned back from all these; and more fastidious than Pilgrim or Puritan, or perhaps overdrawn by loyalty to his first love, maiden Acadia, de Monts betook himself again to this Island of the Holy Cross,—proved to be indeed a cross of suffering.

We will not stop to conjecture what would have been the outcome if de Monts had established himself somewhere on these New England shores where conditions would have been more favorable for his immediate purpose, and where if France had had the heart and nerve to gain firm foothold, some great chapters of history would have run to different conclusions from those now written.

At this Isle of St. Croix de Monts agreed with his advisers that this place could not be maintained for headquarters; and perhaps feeling the importance of keeping within reach of their shipping and trading objective about these eastern waters, they decided to remove across the bay to Port Royal. De Monts had so named this from its noble aspect after almost losing some of his ships in a treacherous strait where it is said he "got his ships in one at a time and stern-foremost at that," such were the tender relations between their expansive bulwarks and the too ready

rocks amidst the treacherous tide-currents. Pont Gravé did not like the place much; but Poutrincourt did; and so de Monts generously gave it to him, as his charter warranted him to do. It was Pont Gravé, however, who on the second winter remained in command at Port Royal; for Poutrincourt had gone over to France in the interests of the enterprise, and particularly to perfect his own plans of proceeding.

Under Champlain's vigorous leadership and example quick work was made of this removal. The settlement was almost literally transplanted; for the finished work, and even the frames of the houses on this island were carried over to Port Royal, and set up there with equal excellence and order. But they had a hard winter there also, and twelve of the colony went down under the scourge of the "mal de la terre." This discouraged even Pont Gravé, and he was ready to abandon the enterprise and return to France. Just at this juncture, however, in a returning ship comes back Poutrincourt, and relieving Pont Gravé, allows him to depart without seeming to desert.

Champlain who had meantime been tireless in his explorations westward, but with no practical result, planned another voyage to still more southern climes. Taking with him Poutrincourt he retraced his westward path and passed beyond it as far as Vineyard Sound. Again, finding nothing which satisfied them of its capability to meet their wishes and ideals, they returned to Port Royal in no very cheerful mood. Here they met more disheartening news in a message from de Monts, now in France. He had gone thither as soon as the building of Port Royal was well begun, for the very laudable purpose for a lieutenant-general of looking after his rear and securing his communications. There was great need of this — but he was already too late. The jealousy of the traders of Normandy, Breton and Biscay over the monopoly conferred by his charter in a region so rich and extensive, where they felt that they had natural and almost prescriptive rights, had become bitterly aggressive. In spite of his high purpose to establish a French colony on these shores for the honor of the French name, in spite of his high character and connections, his trading monopoly was revoked and his appointment as lieutenant-general annulled. In despair he sent word to Poutrincourt to abandon Port Royal and all he was contemplating

and return to France. He did return, and Champlain also Their hold was broken here, and they went forward to different fates.

De Monts remained in France, disheartened at the defeat of his generous purposes, and most of all that this was the triumph of enemies who thinking only of immediate personal advantage could not enter into his thought, greater and dearer to him than all such things. He was able, however, to obtain other privileges, which were exercised chiefly in supporting two expeditions of Champlain to Tadoussac on the St. Lawrence, which led to the founding of Quebec. In this new endeavor he struggled yet more years, holding to some remnant of his ideal, and generous and noble in its pursuit,— but to see his part in this also fade and fail. He went down at last heart-broken, but facing to the front.

"*L'homme propose, Dieu dispose*" is the French saying; was life's lesson for him this, or the converse of it?

So passed to dust and ruin this little beginning on the Island of the Cross. So passed into broken lights the glory of de Monts' dawning dream. Contemplating this ruin and this baffled purpose, must we speak of failure? If so for de Monts personally, the case is not singular. All the first leaders had sad experiences. Gilbert, Raleigh, Gorges, de Monts, Poutrincourt, Champlain even, and we might also say Columbus himself,— jealousy, enmity, imprisonment, disgrace barred their sunset sky. But we judge the man more by the ideas he quickened into action than by the immediate material results he lived to see. Nor is the case singular in its immediate results. Nearly all the first attempts at colonization on these shores were swept away by some lack of adaptation to their surroundings, or by jealous or hostile forces at home or abroad. And for such failure as befell his work de Monts is not largely chargeable. There may have been some disintegrating influence in the very extent of the monopoly granted him, trenching as it did upon what might seem to others common interests of man, and almost vested rights through long use. Minor mistakes of choice he may have made, but he was throughout true to his ideals and to his followers. The main responsibility for what may be accounted failure in his work must rest upon the weakness of support rendered by his

associates at home, more especially upon the looseness of character and fickleness of purpose of those who ruled France in his day. It was France indeed which lost most by this; for the revocation of the de Monts charter of 1603 weakened the French basis of pretence of right on these shores according to the rule then in vogue. The opinion of Lescarbot may be cited in his remonstrance to King Louis in 1618: "The revocation of the de Monts charter worked the ruin of a fine enterprise which promised the speedy establishment of a new kingdom in those lands."

The new French charters given within the ten years following left the technical advantage of priority of date to the English charter of 1606. And even as it was, France could not have held good claim to the boundary she did, were it not for the actual occupation by de Monts and his immediate successors in these little beginnings on the St. Croix waters.

Then too all the developments of succeeding history in this region must be regarded as in some true sense the unfolding of his purpose, not under the same guidance indeed, but under the momentum of the impulse then and here begun. Although we cannot see all the connections of the composite forces that determine life and history, we must think back to de Monts when we consider the long sharp struggle for possession of these Acadian shores, and the tenacious hold which France maintained for more than a century, and which is not wholly yet unfelt.

For beyond the resistance of nature to be overcome, fiercer elements of opposition had to be encountered. England set herself in the race, hand and foot. Her ships had coursed the shores west of the Acadian waters from time to time, but for more than a century since the discoveries of Cabot the only real demonstration of possession she had made was the attempt of Gilbert in Newfoundland sixty years thereafter; and this having utterly perished, France had to meet no claim of adverse possession. But the closer explorations of Waymouth on the coasts of Maine in 1605, and his reports and trophies of the same, awakened a new interest in England, sharpened, no doubt, by knowledge of what the French were doing. Immediately follows the charter of King James, 1606, known as the "great charter of Virginia," granting as if under his unquestioned jurisdiction full colonial

French Cruiser "Troude," St. John Harbor

U. S. S. Detroit at St. Croix Island, June 25, 1904

rights to the territory between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth parallels,— that is, from South Carolina to Passamaquoddy. This was immediately followed by attempts at colonization. To define jurisdictions more clearly, issued in 1620 another English charter known as the "Charter of New England," granting to the Council of Plymouth (in England) proprietary rights between the fortieth and forty-eighth parallels,— from the latitude of Philadelphia to the Bay of Chaleur. It may be said here that the attempted settlement of Popham and Gilbert at the mouth of the Sagadahock in 1607 and the broken operations following thence along the coast eastward to Pemaquid, and the remarkable grants of the Province of Maine to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, 1620-1641, with rights and dignities of quite a medieval order, which came in connection with these charters, being west of the Penobscot, did not disturb the Acadian occupancy, nor directly affect the greater issues of title in that territory.

But in the meantime (1621), King James granted another charter to Sir William Alexander of Scotland, Earl of Stirling, giving him almost vice-regal rights to the entire peninsula named by him Nova Scotia. This was afterwards (1628) extended to include a vast adjacent region, which under color of this right he attempted to control. The terms of his charter gave him from the Gulf of Canada to the Gulf of California, or the "Vermillion Sea."

It will be seen that English charters thus thrice overlaid the territory covered by the French charter of Acadia; and the immediate consequences of this upon attempts at colonization, it seems a strange use of words to say might have been divined, since the logic of facts would more readily characterize them by terms of quite a contrary derivation.

Thus early did England seem to foreshadow a policy which has since been ascribed to her as characteristic,— that of following up with a stronger hand where others had opened a way. Her justification has been in what appears to be the recognized ethics of nations,— the better use of the material advantages, and better treatment of the persons thus brought under domination.

When England's purpose ripened, other powers had got ahead of her; but she boldly commenced her strenuous career. Already in the very year of the Nova Scotia charter, Holland had granted

to a Company of hers which had been operating about Manhattan Island, exclusive commercial rights to the territory she called New Netherland within the fortieth and forty-fifth parallels; thus covering yet again the ground of several adverse charters. England allowed this tenure but a short term, as she did others in turn. Florida was the only place on the North Atlantic coast which she let alone. Spain was then a power it was not prudent to provoke beyond the existing degree. But in the end, as we know, all came to one. Force of race conquered; rights ripened as opportunity opened. England came in late, but took the whole. Dutch, Portuguese, French, Spaniard yielded one by one to her robust persuasions. What she did not, the daughter did. After all the casuistries of claim, the question was settled by the strong hand.

At the first it was a matter of intense competition in occupancy. Hence the importance of these little colonies and domiciles,— we can hardly call them settlements, so unsettled were they in place and personnel by very reason of these contests,— which throw such flickering and sometimes all too lurid lights upon the scene of early adventure here. Hence the whole period of a hundred and fifty years offers the repeated spectacle of effort to effect a lodgment of civilized life and order, whether as evidence or as warrant for political jurisdiction, and every such nucleus becoming a focus of assault ending in ashes of ruin. The final test of right seemed to be not discovery nor occupation, but conquest, or the power to resist it.

Although the original Acadian grant embraced the territory of what is now New England and New York, yet the material and practical application of the name was limited to the region now embracing the eastern British Provinces and a portion of the State of Maine. Sometimes the country east of the Passamaquoddy was called Acadia, and that west of this, Norumbega. But in the long contention between France and England for the domination of Acadia, the right of France was maintained by occupancy to the Penobscot River, while the English claimed by similar tenure eastward to the Kennebec, and on the shoreland to several outlets of the Sagadahock, Sheepscot and St. Georges; Castine being the extreme western outpost of the French, and Pemaquid the extreme eastern outpost of the English.

Being the frontier between the Old World and the New, not only was Acadia the battle-ground for the great contestants, France and England, but also of the rivalries within each race arising from the strange recklessness in giving charters and concessions, overlaying each other in territory and authority, with the mischief of being apparently legal and valid, while irreconcilable in fact and impossible in the nature of things.

When we bear in mind that this country was also the home and possession of various tribes of aboriginal Indians deeply susceptible to influences of jealousy and revenge, and that even their own distant tribal feuds often reached over into these eastern regions and led to warlike combinations with the parties contesting the domination for themselves, we can form some conception of the continuing causes which made this whole shoreland from the Piscataqua to the St. Croix for five generations a scene of savage forays and pitiless massacres which entitle this even more than Kentucky to be called "the dark and bloody ground."

And with all these external and internal dissensions and swiftly succeeding overturns, the region around where we now stand has been the theater of action and passion, of heroism, romance and tragedy, worthy to be embalmed in the amber of story and borne far and wide on the wings of song.

In recognizing the continuing effect of the purpose of de Monts we must observe, although with rapid glance, the doings of his successors within that generation, and on-goings which must be accounted direct outcome of his enterprise.

Poutrincourt on his arrival in France in 1610 managed to get his concession by de Monts confirmed by King Henry just before his assassination. But returning was for him a hope deferred. Biencourt, his son, taking his father's place and, it is said, his name, continued the effort in a desultory way to carry forward the original purpose; but his slender occupancy was scarcely enough to support his tenure. Two years afterwards the new king, Louis XIII, or rather, the dowager queen regent, Marie de Medici, granted to the famous Marchioness de Guercheville a sweeping charter, apparently to the whole American continent, for the special purpose of turning all into a Jesuit enterprise. Operations under this were zealously begun in the Acadian region.

At this juncture comes an episode and alien interruption in the high-handed work of the Englishman, Argal, who at the order of the governor of Virginia, but without the shadow of right in law or equity, or the common courtesy of honorable combatants, destroyed the feeble Jesuit post at Mt. Desert, swept away the poor little remnants of the sojourn on this Isle St. Croix, and passed on to overthrow the struggling plantation at Port Royal, beating down Frenchmen wherever he could find them.

The next turn of the kaleidoscope shows Biencourt disappearing, having turned over his rights to Charles La Tour, who had come over as a lad of fourteen with Poutrincourt, and had attached himself to the son. The confused accounts of the times represent him as trying to establish these rights at Cape Sable, rather than at Port Royal, and also by some pretence of right, or by native restlessness, gaining a foothold at Pentagoët, a name of the Penobscot, but at that time mostly applied to the place since famous as Castine.

In the meantime the French king, coming under the influence of Richelieu, had granted virtually all North America, from Florida to the Arctic Circle and from Newfoundland to the springs of the St. Lawrence, to a "hundred associates," called the Company of New France, with the astute and powerful Richelieu at the head. Their attempt to occupy the favorite Acadia was not agreeable to Sir William Alexander, and he straightway sent out an expedition under Kirke which soon overcame the feeble French posts,— excepting, it would seem, that at Pentagoët defended by La Tour, who claimed to be holding directly of the French king. The French occupation being thus subjugated, England now set up the right by conquest to a claim she had not made good by right of discovery and possession.

During this disturbance Charles La Tour's father, Claude, who had been forced to leave France by the Huguenot persecutions, and had been taken prisoner on the high seas by the English, had force of character or influence enough to ingratiate himself greatly with Sir William Alexander, and now suddenly appeared before his son on the Penobscot with two English ships bringing from Sir William a baronetcy for them both, and also an extensive grant of lands about Cape Sable, where succeeding to Biencourt, Charles had already held possession of Fort Loméron. All

this was conditioned, however, upon his turning over to the English jurisdiction all his rights and possessions in Acadia. He is said to have indignantly rejected the conditions and also the baronetcy; but he did accept the grant. This was of consequence to him especially, and indeed in itself; for it included the shoreland on each side of Cape Sable, fifty leagues in extent and fifteen leagues inland,— that is, the whole southeastern sea-front from Lunenburg to Yarmouth. What was of far more consequence to him was the commission of lieutenant-general of Acadia from the French king, which he had long expected, and his father with wise regard for the maxim "to be prepared for either event," had also brought.

The wisdom of the son also was soon apparent. For England now restored to France by the treaty of St. Germain (1632), all Acadia and all Canada. This put a new complexion on things, especially on the rights and claims of Charles La Tour. For no sooner had France got this advantage than she gave a special concession and title to Isaac de Razilly, Knight of St. John of Jerusalem, covering a region twelve by twenty leagues in extent around the River and Bay St. Croix, "with its middle point at St. Croix Island." As his lieutenant came his relative, Charles de Menou, known as D'Aulnay Charnisay. He was from La Rochelle, but devoted to the Jesuit policy, and destined to take no inconsiderable part in the affairs of La Tour and of Acadia. Razilly dying two years afterwards (1635), Charnisay succeeded in one way and another to all his rights and possessions.

Far from submitting to this grant to Razilly, La Tour had the nerve to betake himself to Paris, and the skill to procure from the Company of New France a grant of the oft-given lands about Cape Sable, together with the office of commander for the Company of New France, and strange as it must seem, that of lieutenant-general of France for that post and its dependencies. He was somehow able to secure for himself the concession from the Company of an extensive tract,— fifty square leagues,— about the mouth of the St. John, where he had already, five years before, a well-defined and profitable trading post, now confirmed to him in this last concession as "the fort and habitation of La Tour."

It is certainly a curious circumstance that this very year (1635) the Council of Plymouth holding the New England charter of

1620, finding great obstacles to their occupancy by reason of conflicting claims and possessions, decided to surrender their charter; and as a last act of jurisdiction issued letters patent to Sir William Alexander for a "tract of the maine land of New England beginning at St. Croix and thence extending along the sea coast to Pemaquid," adding thereafter "Long Island in the Sound so named, and all the islands thereto adjacent." This title, whatever its value, involving all recognized Acadia, deepened the confusion and ferment of the conflict.

Wisely securing a special permission from Sir William to occupy, La Tour made things safe at Cape Sable, leaving his father there in charge, and now betook himself to the St. John, where he proceeded immediately to found a stronghold. He laid out his plans for defence and development with great skill, and executed them with vigor, and with command of means. Taking advantage of the natural defences about the mouth of the St. John, he built a formidable stone fort, mounting twenty pieces of heavy ordnance, with all barracks, store houses, dwelling houses and other buildings suiting his far-looking purpose, and to crown the whole, a chapel. All of which his valiant wife was competent to command.

In the meantime, through some of the duplex machinery which surrounded the king, Charnisay had also got a commission as lieutenant-general of France, with a grant of La Héve (near Cape Sable), Port Royal and all Acadia west of a north and south line across the middle of the "Baie Françoise," excepting the fifty square leagues granted to La Tour at St. John.

Charnisay does not relish this exception, but keeps up the fight, having warrant from the king, as we are amazed to know, to pursue La Tour and dispossess him of his holdings and if possible capture his fort at St. John. Charnisay proceeds with indifferent success, but is able to cause La Tour such annoyance that he is fain to apply to the Puritans of Boston for assistance, which Charnisay manages to countervail. At last, informed by spies and renegades of the absence of the master, Charnisay, on Easter Sunday, 1643, attacks the fort at St. John by sea and land, and compels its gallant defender, Madame La Tour, to capitulate on honorable terms. It is hard to believe that Charnisay, after this, could warrant the action of his subordinate in hanging many of

the survivors of the garrison, or permit the cruel treatment of the high-minded and heroic defender which brought her to her death in grief and indignation.

This exploit of Charnisay's seems to have overjoyed the young French king, who thereupon greatly enlarged and reinforced his authority in Acadia, extending it now from the St. Lawrence to Virginia, making him, in fact, a feudal lord of this vast domain, with all the power of France to support him.

It would seem now that La Tour's sun had set, and that of Charnisay risen upon the earth.

But there are tropics even in the sun's path, and the earth's unrest, by some hidden law, seems magnified in men. Charnisay had brought a wife from over sea, and now proceeded to organize his plans and establish his colonies at the old points of advantage with some semblance of civilization. For a time things seemed to flourish. But within himself things did not go so well. Some gloom settled on his spirit. Perhaps he missed the stimulus afforded once by fighting the versatile La Tour. His vigor waned. And we cannot but be affected by reading the dull story of his perishing at last (1650), by the sinking of his canoe in which a single Indian was pressing his way amidst the ice-bound waters whose sharp edge cut through his canoe, and whose death-like embrace he had not the strength to endure.

But La Tour took on new life. He boldly presented himself at the French Court, where he made such impression on the Regent, Anne of Austria (Richelieu and Louis having died in 1643), that she gave him a new commission as lieutenant-general of Acadia, in testimonies of merit and terms of favor altogether surprising. An equally remarkable exploit is his persuading Suzanne, sister of Charnisay, to bequeath to him the landed property she had received from her brother. To complete the romance, he returns to Acadia and manages to make the widow of Charnisay marry him and endow him with all her worldly goods. It is the Tropic of Capricorn.

But trouble arises in a new quarter and again with strange complexity. A Protestant Frenchman who held mortgages on Charnisay's property for moneys advanced in fighting La Tour, now appears armed with judgments of the French courts, and with this prior lien levying on Charnisay's old holdings, greatly

harasses La Tour. He does not tamely surrender, but promptly executes the supposedly rash maneuver of changing front under fire. He hastens to England, shows Cromwell that he had a great English grant of land in Nova Scotia, and had been commissioned a baronet of England there, and confidently puts himself under Cromwell's protection. He got his commission as British governor of Acadia, with an extraordinary grant of lands, — three hundred miles inland around the shores of the Bay of Fundy, — on the condition that none but Protestants should be allowed to reside there. Surely this is the irony of history.

It would seem that nothing more strange could be added to this phantasmagory of dissolving scenes. But one more look at La Tour shows him as governor of Acadia under the Commonwealth, establishing the Presbyterian Church there, introducing Franciscan friars from Aquitame to carry on a mission work among the Micmac and Maliseet Indians of his domain, and achieving for himself and his followers a prosperous career. Foreseeing that England could not permanently maintain her supremacy here, he sold out his principal holdings and betook himself to private life. Forebodings came true, and with strange coincidence. In 1667 Charles restored Acadia to France, — from Pentagoët to the ocean. In the same year Charles La Tour, on a voyage to visit his son, found a not unfitting grave in the tumultuous outer waters, off the fateful Cape Sable shores.

It is a curious episode that seven years later, the Dutch conquered and subdued the Acadian coast, and Cornelius Steenwyck was appointed governor of all the territory east and north from the River Pentagoët. This right was virtually annulled by the treaty of Westminster, 1677, which operated to strengthen the never abandoned pretence of England against France.

The baldest statement of the facts of this infinite series of reprisals and counterplay, of which even the official records are incomprehensible, offers glimpses of a bewildering spectacle of vital dynamics, whose improbabilities the most reckless writer of fiction would not presume to offer to human credulity.

So follows the spectral train of de Monts. The shadows of great movement rise dim before our eyes: forms and phantoms pass: characters masked and unmasked play their part and go:

waking the undertones of that deep human interest with which they were once so vitally charged.

Champlain, beset by every enemy in unregenerate nature, skilful to avoid, brave to resist, loyal to his faith, unconquerable in his purpose, steadfastly moving on through darkened waters and boding skies, towards his sunset glory in the west where his Quebec stood as in the balconies of heaven, beneath which he at last found rest.

Poutrincourt, heroic in his passing. Strange counterplay of wish and will, of faith and fate! The man who sought these wild shores for a home of peace from the tumults and treacheries of his native land, going back to gather up his treasures, quickly summoned to die in the quarrels of his king.

Saturnine and deep-toned Charnisay,— and over against him Charles La Tour, sanguine, agile and adroit; both from La Rochelle, but apart as the poles in religious profession; the one first love and lover of Marie Jacqueline Bernon, strangely commissioned to destroy her husband La Tour in the wilds of Acadia, but destroying only his early beloved stoutly defending her absent husband's rights; then suddenly going down himself; the other, dispossessed and proscribed, by some freak of French fortune not only recovering his own rights but gaining the rights and titles of his rival, and marrying his widow in reprisal; both to pass under the cold waters of the seas they claimed.

And this same Marie Jacqueline herself,— noble, brave and true; loveliest picture on the manifold Acadian page; livingly portrayed for us in the too forgotten story, "Constance of Acadia."

Let our vision rest in this, while the long train passes on through eventful years.

Of the vicissitudes of Acadia in later times we have clearer knowledge, and much reason for remembrance. In the operations of English domination in Nova Scotia (at Annapolis and Grand Pré), in which our ancestors were made actors: in the story of Louisburg and Cape Breton, in which the part of the men of New England commands admiration more on military than on moral grounds: in the tragedy of the expulsion of the Acadians, held warm in our interest not only by the thrilling tenderness of Longfellow's "Evangeline," but also by the material

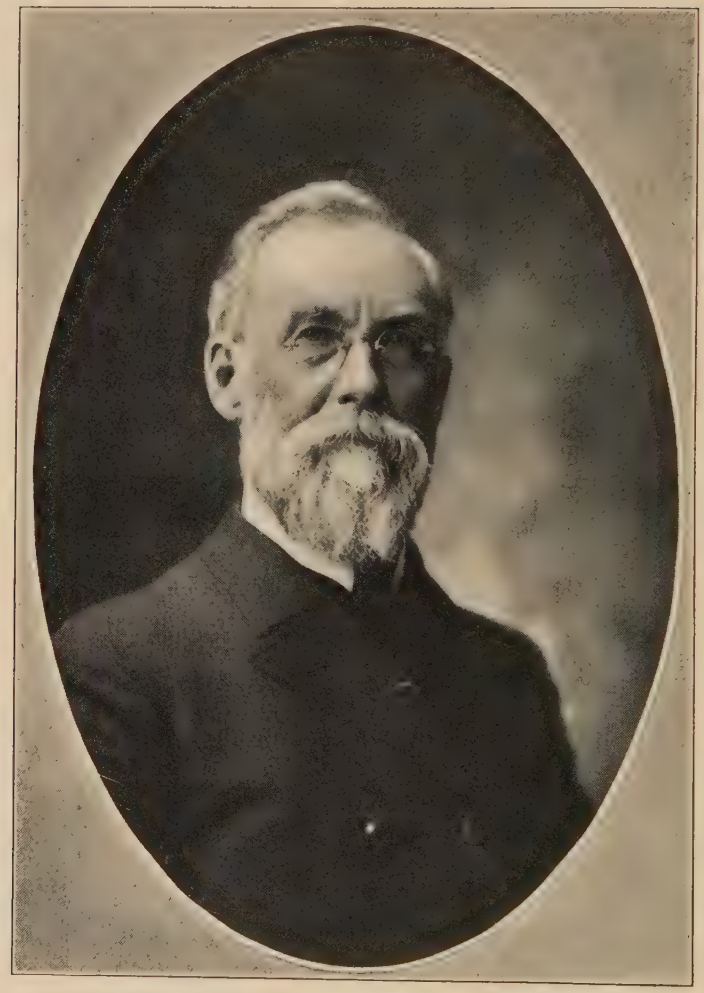
fact of the fifteen thousand of their descendants, good citizens of our northern Maine, retaining the old simplicity of life, and unforgiving traditions of the expulsion: in the large settlement at St. John and Port Royal, of the banished "loyalists" of the American Revolution, who made themselves Acadians because determined to build up the new liberty without renouncing the old sovereignty: — in all these passages of human struggle and probation, we of the Eastern States hold a common interest with you French and English of Acadia old and new. And we bear in mind also that the right and wrong of many of these things is held in silence or abeyance, to be forgotten, or charged to the account of God's ways in history.

One singular dignity this island "settlement" of de Monts has come to hold. After long lost identity and earnest searching, these ruins were discovered and admitted to be the proper mark for the boundary line between two great nations, England and the United States of America. Such value had this broken enterprise in the minds of men and councils of nations. Without the identifying of this spot the language of treaties was in vain, and bounds of nationalities in confusion.

But this little relic is not the measure of the man. The narrow compass of this island does not bound his thought, nor the dim fragments of his doings that have taken earthly form around us compose his record. The measure of him is his purpose and ideal.

The blood and brain of France that once led the civilization of Europe, has not perished from the earth. The thought of those great minds of France, for France, is not extinguished. It has entered into the on-going of human welfare, and the vision, the prayer, the hope, that went so high and far, may find answer in visible forms of power even beyond the early dream.

Consequences are not in one line alone, but in many lines. When a living thought is projected into ideal, we cannot trace its course, nor foresee its end. God's ways are on mighty orbits, and their real tending is often lost to human sight; but the "times appointed" will arrive, and the end crown the work. One thing we may be sure of: all these vicissitudes of life, all these toils and struggles, these seeming defeats as well as seeming victories, are overruled for some final good for man,— and for every man who has borne himself worthily in them.



JAMES VROOM

So we greet in spirit to-day him who three centuries ago saw in visions of his soul what for man could be wrought on these treasured shores. The work is going on,— but by other hands; the dream is coming real,— but to other eyes. The thought is his; and the fulfillment, though different, is of his beginning.

What world would he think himself in, if he could behold this spectacle! this concourse representing the noblest life of the Old World and the New,— this shining scene, where the smile of womanhood stands out upon the shadows of the past, reminding us of what sustaining power was missing in those earlier homes, and in that lack what loss! these calm, expressive waters: flickering foreground of white-winged carriers of peace and love; deeper moored concordant warships of approving nations; high over us the flag he bore, once thrilling hearts with love or dread, the broad blue field sown with golden fleurs-de-lis, and quartered by the great white cross whose meaning he knew so well; — and closer the flag of France, the flag of England, and a strange new flag, of stars and stripes, emblems he also might well divine,— bending above the remembrance of this lost hope of his, and the thunder of the guns of their power sweeping the skies, making his requiem a pean!

And you, happy dwellers in this St. Croix Valley, who have inaugurated these memorials, how would his heart turn to you, fulfillers of his dream! Perchance he saw already the smiling homes that beautify these shores; perhaps anticipated the nobility of life that marks the manhood and womanhood reared within them. He was large hearted enough to rejoice in these, even if his name had no place among you. But your river still holds the name he gave it, and perchance this island may hold his own.

Better is his later fame than his early fate. For the place you give him to-day is with a whole-hearted sympathy beyond that accorded in his time; and the minds which revive these memorials of him are of those who enter into the largeness of his thought.

To him who, so grandly moved, strove through such means and limitations as he met, to set up here the beginnings of a "New France" of her regenerated life and purpose for the good of man, here to-day, great France, great England and great

America mingle their honors; and across the seas,— across the centuries,— across the blood of races, we dedicate this monument of recognition and testimony,— manhood to manhood, thought to thought, nor wanting the tribute of tears to tears!

General Chamberlain was followed by M. Kleczkowski, the consul-general of France in Canada. He said he felt deeply moved by all he had seen and heard. Something of old France seemed to remain in this spot to this day. One fact was brought out to him in reading the history of Champlain and de Monts: they were always pledged to an ideal and never to a personal interest. No fame was to come to them from their efforts. Success is not the measure of a man's worth. The real measure is his sacrifice and devotion to a noble idea. M. Kleczkowski thanked the Society for its kindness and attention and thought that the lesson to be derived from all this celebration is that a lofty mission, carried out by venerable hands, never fails to blossom.

Mayor Teed then called for three cheers for the French consul, which were heartily given by the assemblage.

Mr. James Vroom, secretary of the committee, presented the following resolution, in the name of the mayor of St. Andrews:

Resolved: That this company, composed of citizens of the United States of America, subjects of His Majesty King Edward VII., residing in British North America, and visitors from abroad, being assembled to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of the discovery and settlement of the island on which the Sieur de Monts and his companions passed the winter of 1604-5, and to which the discoverers gave the name of Saincte Croix, deplore the use of later names for the island, and desire that as a mark of honor to de Monts and Champlain it be henceforth known by the name of St. Croix Island.

Tablet Unveiled at St. Croix Island, June 25, 1904

The resolution was unanimously adopted.[1]

Upon a large boulder near the lighthouse a bronze tablet had been affixed, bearing this inscription:

TO COMMEMORATE
THE DISCOVERY AND OCCUPATION
OF THIS ISLAND BY
DEMONTS AND CHAMPLAIN
WHO, NAMING IT
L'ISLE SAINCTE CROIX,
FOUNDED HERE 26 JUNE, 1604,
THE FRENCH COLONY OF ACADIA
THEN THE ONLY SETTLEMENT
OF EUROPEANS NORTH OF FLORIDA,
THIS TABLET IS ERECTED BY
RESIDENTS OF THE ST. CROIX VALLEY
1904.

This tablet was unveiled by Miss Johnson, daughter of Mayor Johnson, of Calais, and Miss Teed, daughter of the mayor of St. Stephen. Captain Dillingham, of the Detroit, immediately by an appointed signal announced the unveiling to the war vessels at their anchorage in the river, and their guns at once thundered forth an international salutation. With this the exercises at the island were closed.

Many of those present remained to visit the warships, but the larger part of the company returned to Calais for the exercises of the afternoon.

[1] Prof. W. F. Ganong, in his valuable monograph "Dochet (St. Croix) Island," published in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada," 2d Series, 1902-1903, Vol. VIII, Section IV, says: "The island has borne several names,—Met-a-neg-wis, Saincte Croix, Bone, Dochet and Doucett, Neutral, Big (or Great), de Monts and Hunts, all of them more or less closely interwoven with its history." Dochet (usually pronounced in the neighborhood Do [like so]-shay, with accent on the first syllable), he says, "is the name by which it is exclusively known in the St. Croix valley at present." It is to be hoped that the resolution adopted at this celebration will secure the desired and certainly desirable change. See Monograph, p. 142.

THE CALAIS CELEBRATION

The concluding exercises were held in the St. Croix Opera House, in Calais, at 2 o'clock P. M.

Gen. B. B. Murray presided. Music was furnished by an excellent orchestra, under the leadership of Mr. F. H. Lowell.

In an opening address General Murray said :

We have met on this summer afternoon to commemorate the settlement of the French colony, under de Monts, in 1604, on what is known as St. Croix Island, in the St. Croix River. That settlement has become a matter of much historic interest, because it was the first colony of Europeans who settled in this part of North America.

The citizens of Calais, St. Stephen, St. Andrews and Milltown — citizens residing upon both sides of the river — have united with equal interest in extending kindly greeting and cordial welcome to all who have come to take part in these proceedings.

It is a matter of much gratification to us that to-day we are to have the pleasure of listening to instructive papers, prepared by gentlemen representing the Maine Historical Society — his Honor Mayor James P. Baxter and Prof. W. F. Ganong — upon those two pioneers, de Monts and Champlain, who established their first colony and spent their first winter on the island called "St. Croix," at a time when, in the language of a distinguished writer, the country was "an unbroken wilderness, without a single European family from Florida to the frozen ocean."

It also gives me much pleasure to announce that we have with us a special representative of the Republic of France, M. Kleczkowski, Consul-General of France in Canada; the Hon. L. J. Tweedie, Premier of New Brunswick; and eminent gentlemen representing the Historical Society of New Brunswick and the Royal Society of Canada; also French, English and American naval officers, whose ships lie in the river below; also one whose name will call to your minds many an important event in American history — Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts;

HON. BENJAMIN B. MURRAY

and we also have with us, of our own distinguished scholars and soldiers two, whose names you will be glad to hear — Maj. Henry S. Burrage and Gen. Joshua L. Chamberlain.

The presence of all these gentlemen lends an unusual interest to this occasion, and does something, we hope, to bring into closer friendly relations the people of these three nationalities.

I now have the honor to present, as the first speaker, Prof. W. F. Ganong, of Smith College, a gentleman well known to many, if not all of you, as a scholar who has given much careful study to the history of this early settlement in the valley of the St. Croix.

In his address Professor Ganong said :

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen representing France, England and the United States, Members of the Historical Societies, Ladies and Gentlemen : I have the honor to address you this afternoon upon " The Meaning of the Day."

Three centuries ago this day, all of the northern parts of America, now the home of so many prosperous and happy millions, was one vast wilderness. All its mighty sweep of forest and plain was a solitude, save only where the little groups of Indian lodges clung to the shores of its lonely rivers or where tiny clearings beside the sea told of the fleeting presence of some venturesome European ; but through all its spacious and unconquered extent, from old Atlantic to new Pacific, and from near the tropic islands to the frozen northern sea, there was not a single European settlement. In the year 1604, over a century had already elapsed since Columbus had found the New World, and since Cabot had explored its northeastern coast for England and marked it for the empire of the Anglo-Saxon. Over three-quarters of a century had passed since Verrazano had explored the same coast for France, and nearly as long since Cartier had carried the fleur-de-lis up the St. Lawrence, laying the foundation for the dramatic but temporary rule of the French in America. Both nations had thus acquired claims to this continent, but neither had obtained any foothold upon it. True, both had attempted settlement, the English in Newfoundland and

Virginia and the French at Quebec and Tadoussac, but both had failed. Upon the whole continent only the Spaniard had succeeded, for he had planted a small settlement in Florida and others around the Gulf of Mexico; elsewhere and everywhere to the northward there was only the wilderness.

Such was the state of North America, when, on a fair midsummer day, just three centuries ago, a tiny vessel came sailing along the lonely Fundy coast from the eastward and turned her prow to the river on whose historic banks we now are standing. She was a tiny craft that thus appeared out of the unknown, for she was no larger than the fishing sloops we know so well in our Quoddy waters to-day. She carried about a dozen men, of whom two bore the unmistakable stamp of leadership. One was a prominent gentleman of France, lofty in spirit, devoted in purpose, trusted of his king, the commander of the company, Sieur de Monts. The other was one of the great men whom France has given to the world, a remarkable combination of dreamer of dreams and man of swift and wise action. The intentness of his gaze as one new feature after another unfolded itself along the coast, and his constant use of compass and pencil showed him to be the geographer and chronicler of the expedition. He was the first cartographer and historian of Acadia, later the founder and father of New France, Samuel de Champlain. But the little vessel is coming nearer; she reaches our beautiful Passamaquoddy Islands; she winds her cautious and curious way among them; she crosses the spacious bay; she enters our noble river; she sails up the hill-bordered valley; she reaches the island where to-day we placed our memorial, then unbroken forest; her sails are furled; the leaders step ashore, and then, with the air of men who have ended a weary search, they declare that it is good and here they will plant the capital of the New World. Whence came this little vessel? What carried she that we should here assemble three centuries later, to celebrate her coming? Whither went she thereafter? Her coming and her going I shall now try to relate to you, but what that coming meant I shall tell you first. She was the herald of the permanent occupation of the northern parts of America by Europeans. From the day the keel of her smallboat grated on the beach of Dochet Island, this continent has never been without a population of

those races which have made the history of the principal part of America,— the French and the English. We celebrate to-day not only an event of great human interest, but one of the momentous circumstances of history, the actual first step of North America from barbarism over the threshold of civilization, and the first stage in the expansion of two of the most virile races of Europe into the wonderful New World. This was in 1604. Late the preceding year, Sieur de Monts, who had been deeply interested in certain futile attempts to plant a French colony on the St. Lawrence, obtained from the king of France a monopoly of the fur trade in Acadia, which was defined as extending from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degrees of latitude (viz., from Cape Breton to Pennsylvania). Of this country he was also made lieutenant-general and governor with almost unlimited powers. The prospects of rich returns from the fur trade enabled him to organize, or rather, reorganize, a powerful company which supplied him with the means to equip a colonizing expedition. After the most careful, and even elaborate, preparations, he set sail for Acadia on April 7, 1604. He had two vessels, one of 120 and the other of 150 tons, on board of which were somewhat over 120 men, including himself with Champlain and several adventurous young gentlemen, a priest and a minister (for the expedition included both Catholics and Protestants), many skilled workmen, and some vagabonds taken in default of better material; and he had on board ample stores of all things needful for a colony. The small vessel reached land at Canso, but the larger, carrying the leaders, held more to the southward and made its landfall at Cape La Héve, on the Nova Scotia coast, on May 8, and soon after came to anchor in Port Matoon, the very place, by the way, in which the band of Loyalists who founded St. Stephen just one hundred and eighty years later tarried for a winter ere they came to this valley. In this good harbor, de Monts remained with his vessel, while Champlain, in a little barque of eight tons manned by ten men, explored the coast to the westward and entered the Bay of Fundy, of which he was the virtual if not the actual discoverer. He returned with his report to de Monts and they brought the vessel to St. Mary's Bay, at the entrance to the Bay of Fundy. Thence they both set out on the barque for further explorations, leaving the vessel which it was too unsafe to navigate along this utterly unknown

coast. Their first discovery pleased them greatly, as well it might, for they entered the beautiful Annapolis Basin, or Port Royal, of whose history they later became an important part. Continuing up the Bay of Fundy, seeking at one and the same time a site for their settlement, mines of valuable metals, and any new thing that might develop, they crossed to Cape Chignecto and thence to the New Brunswick shore, along which they coasted to the westward. Then, on the 24th of June, the day of St. John the Baptist, they entered the mouth of a large river, which impressed them much; and they named it for the saint whose day it was. This event we celebrated together yesterday in the gray city by the sea Then they kept on along the coast towards the west, and,— came into our vision in the manner I related a few moments ago.

It was on June 26, in all probability, that they reached Dochet Island, though it may have been on the 27th, or perhaps the 25th. Though the records are silent upon this point, they tell abundantly of most matters, for, of this entire expedition we are so fortunate as to possess an account which combines the very highest historical authority with the deepest personal interest. This is nothing less than the narrative of the great Champlain himself, published at Paris in 1613. It is one of the greatest books of exploration ever given to the world, and a work which has been thought not unworthy of mention in a class with the greatest of all such writings, the Anabasis of Xenophon. In it Champlain tells us, with direct simplicity and manifest sincerity, of all the events in which he had a part, and of the many new and strange things that he saw; and he has illustrated his texts by many maps and sketches, which, while faulty enough in their technique, manage to show the heart of truth in their subjects. Happily this work, now excessively rare and costly in the original, is accessible to us in an excellent reprint issued at Quebec in 1870, and in a scholarly translation published in Boston in 1882, while within a few days past, a new translation of all the portion concerning the Bay of Fundy and contiguous parts has appeared in the historical magazine "Acadiensis" in St. John. Curiously enough we possess a second narrative on these same events, by a versatile writer named L'Escarbot, who spent a winter in Acadia two years later, learned of these occurrences from those who had

part in them, and, on his return to France described them in his "History of New France." His narrative, while much inferior to Champlain's as a whole, supplements the latter in some particulars, especially those involving sentiment. I would that I might let Champlain himself tell you the story of Dochet Island, with L'Escarbot prompting him from time to time; and I would do so were it not that I must here condense into a few minutes the substance of their many pages; but I commend to you all the study of these classics of the St. Croix. These are the words in which Champlain describes the discovery of the island:

> We entered a river almost half a league in breadth at its mouth, sailing up which a league or two we found two islands, one very small near the western bank, and the other in mid-river, having a circumference of perhaps eight or nine hundred paces, with rocky sides three or four fathoms high all around, except in one small place, where there is a sandy point and clayey earth adapted for making brick and other needful articles. There is another place affording a shelter for vessels from eighty to a hundred tons, but it is dry at low tide. The island is covered with firs, birches, maples and oaks. It is by nature very well situated, except in one place, where for about forty paces it is lower than elsewhere; this, however, is easily fortified. The banks of the mainland are distant on both sides some nine hundred to a thousand paces. Vessels could pass up the river only at the mercy of the cannon on this island, and we deemed the location the most advantageous [we had seen] not only on account of its situation and good soil, but also on account of the intercourse which we proposed with the Indians of these coasts and the interior, as we should be in the midst of them. We hoped to pacify them in the course of time and put an end to the wars which they carry on with one another, so as to derive service from them in the future, and convert them to the Christian faith. This place was named by Sieur de Monts Saint Croix Island.

This single passage, within whose length I venture to say no one of us could condense more information, explains several things of importance, among others, in part at least, why the island was chosen as the site of their settlement. But in addition to the reasons he gives — its central position for both mainland and coasts, its defensibility against attack, and its beautiful environment — we can well believe there were others of a less tangible but no less potent sort. For a good deal over a month they had been seeking a suitable place to settle; they had viewed a long expanse of rocky coast and had searched every inlet, but so far

in vain. As the season slipped by apace they must have longed to find some marked and distinctive spot which would end their search and allow them to commence a home in that lonely and inhospitable land. The striking position of the island and the beauty of its surroundings, together with its other advantages from their point of view, must have made it seem almost destined for this use. And if that day in June so long ago was like later days we know, days which give that place and all the sea and land around a most surpassing charm, then need we no more wonder why they chose to tarry here. And they named it Isle Saincte Croix, the Island of the Holy Cross, because beyond it, as L'Escarbot tells us, the rivers meet in the form of a cross. And this is the origin of the name of the river.

But now was the time for vigorous action. A part of the company erected a temporary barricade on a little outlier of the island, while the barque was sent across the Bay of Fundy to bring up the vessel, which, it will be remembered, had been left in St. Mary's Bay, Nova Scotia; and, says Champlain, "while awaiting them we spent the time very pleasantly." On the arrival of the vessel, they commenced to clear the island and to build their settlement, the plan for which was laid down by Champlain himself. It was on the north end of the island, in the open field where to-day we place our monument. Here about a dozen houses were arranged around a court and in part connected together with strong palisades, forming a rude but sufficient fort. Its appearance is preserved for us in a detailed picture-plan by Champlain, upon which, however, we must not place too great reliance in details since it was probably much altered, as it certainly was much improved and conventionalized, by the engraver. The houses were in part built of timbers brought from France, that of de Monts in particular, as L'Escarbot tells us, being "built with artistic and beautiful woodwork, with the banner of France above." The storehouse, of such vital importance to the settlers, was also built of French timbers, but most of the others were no doubt in part of logs, with doors, windows and chimneys brought on their vessels, while some of them appear to be no better than Indian wigwams. They had also a common meeting hall for use in rainy weather, which probably served as a dining room; and near it was the kitchen. There was also an oven building where the

bread was made, a blacksmith shop, a well and a number of gardens. Each house was built and occupied by several men, who collected together upon the basis of congeniality. In the incidental mention of the occupants of the houses we learn the names of several of the more prominent members of the company, most of them not elsewhere mentioned in the narrative — the Sieurs d'Orville, Champdoré, Boulay, Genestou, Sourin, Beaumont, la Motte Bourioli and Fougeray On the southwest of the island, as Champlain's map so clearly shows, was built a little chapel, and beside it was established the cemetery, which was destined to prove all too necessary before the winter was over. Cannon were mounted at both ends of the island, and gardens were laid out in several places,— on the island just south of the settlement, on the mainland on both banks of the river at places easily recognizable from Champlain's map and at the head of the river, on the present site of Calais or St. Stephen. The latter garden was on the very spot, it is likely, where, a hundred years later to a month, in June, 1704, the residence of a French seignior, Sieur Chartier, was destroyed by Colonel Church from Massachusetts, in reprisal for French and Indian attacks on New England.

Such were the preparations for the winter. When they were complete, a part of the colony set sail for France, and Champlain himself was instructed by de Monts to explore the coast to the southward, "which," Champlain says, "I found very agreeable." In a little vessel of seventeen or eighteen tons, manned by twelve sailors, so many being needed not for navigation but as a guard against possible Indian attack, and with two Indians as guides, he explored the Maine coast nearly to the Kennebec. Concerning this voyage you will no doubt learn much of interest from the honored president of the Maine Historical Society, who is soon to address you. They returned to the island on October 2 and found all made ready for the winter.

And that dreadful winter! The snow first fell as early as the 6th of October and came in such profusion that it was from three to four feet deep as late as the end of April. On the 3d of December ice was floating in the river, and it later increased to such an extent that it became difficult and dangerous, and even at times impossible, to leave the island. The cold was extreme in its severity and duration, to such a degree that, as Champlain

says, "all our liquors froze, except the Spanish wine. Cider was dispensed by the pound." A second account by Champlain and that by L'Escarbot also mention this misfortune to their liquors; doubtless they knew how to give to their fellow-countrymen in France the most vivid idea of the hardships of their lot. The island had no protection from the north winds, which swept with terrible force against dwellings very badly adapted to so rigorous a climate. Everything in the narrative tends to show that the winter was one of altogether exceptional severity, if not indeed the most severe of which there is any record in this region. Upon how slight and apparently irrelevant a circumstance does the course of history often turn! Had this winter been as mild as are many in this place, it is likely the next year the settlement would have been improved and made permanent, and the St. Croix, instead of Port Royal, would have been for over a century the centre of French activity and settlement in Acadia, even though its ultimate destiny could hardly have been thereby affected. This exceptional winter was the worse for the settlement since most of the wood on the island had been used for the buildings or was soon exhausted, and it was necessary to go for fuel to the mainland; as their barque was apparently laid up for the winter they had for this use only their small boat, by means of which they could obtain their supply only slowly and with great danger and at times not at all. The little water on the island became tainted, and better could only be brought with great labor from the mainland, while their food was mostly salt and nourished them badly. The labor of grinding their grain on a hand mill in their half-frozen and weakened condition, was very severe, as was the constant guard thought necessary against possible treachery from the Indians who were encamped for the winter on the island. As a result of such conditions, some of the men fell ill, then others and yet others, until there developed among them that disease most dreaded of all by those wintering in cold countries, the scurvy, which soon got so far beyond control that of the seventy-nine men composing the company, fifty-nine were afflicted with the disease and thirty-five miserably perished. Champlain gives us a very detailed, and somewhat harrowing description of the disease as he observed it, and of its effects upon the vital organs as shown by post-mortem examinations. So little were its cause

and prevention then understood that the surgeons themselves suffered from it like the others. Among those who died appear to have been the priest and the minister, who were buried together in the same grave. The poor victims were no doubt all buried in the cemetery beside the chapel, on a little knoll shown in Champlain's map, but now completely washed away. Those who remained well were mostly the young gentlemen of the party who led an active and merry life despite their surroundings, or, as one record has it, "these were a jolly company of hunters, who preferred rabbit hunting to the air of the fireside; skating on the ponds to turning over lazily in bed; making snowballs to bring down the game to sitting around the fire talking about Paris and its good cooks." It was the return of spring which ended the ravages of the disease and enabled the sick to recover.

One of the methods used by the young gentlemen to keep up their spirits during the winter deserves special mention. They appear to have circulated a kind of periodical, called the "Master William," which was, as L'Escarbot tells us, "stuffed with all kinds of news." Such was the first periodical of this valley, and it is possible for the antiquary to claim that the first literary periodical of America was the "Master William," circulated (of course in written, not printed, copies) at Dochet Island, in the winter of 1604-1605. But a single quotation from it has been preserved. L'Escarbot tells us that it said among other things that Sieur de Monts "did pull out thorns in Canada," an expression seemingly equivalent to our phrase "draw the teeth," or subdue. But the chief interest in this passage is that it serves to suggest to L'Escarbot an expression of his admiration for such enterprises as that of Sieur de Monts, for he adds: "And when all is said it is very truly pulling out thorns, in taking in hand such enterprises full of continual perils and fatigues, of cares, anguish and discomforts. But the virtue and the courage which subdues everything makes these thorns but carnations and roses to those who are determined on heroic actions to commend themselves to the memory of men, and close their eyes to the pleasures of those effeminates who are good only for chamber-guards."

But the winter was over at last; the sick were well once more; and all were looking and longing for the arrival of the ships from France. These were slow in coming, and fears for their safety

began to haunt the dreams of the settlers, when, in the middle of June, they arrived, and were welcomed, as Champlain says, "amid the great joy of all." L'Escarbot, as usual, is more demonstrative in his account of this important event, and says it "was to the great satisfaction of everyone, as can readily be believed, and there was not wanting, as is customary at such times, the booming of cannon nor the blaring of trumpets."

Evidently such a winter as this could not again be endured, and immediately after the arrival of the ships, an expedition, led by de Monts, with Champlain and an Indian guide, set out in a boat of some eighteen tons, manned by twenty sailors, to explore the coast to the southward, in order to find, as Champlain says, "a place better adapted for an abode, and with better temperature than our own." They examined the coasts of Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts, then of course still wholly unsettled, to south of Cape Cod, and strangely enough, found no place which pleased them as a situation for a settlement. Here we cannot refrain from some speculation as to the historical result, had they found a place to their liking on Massachusetts Bay and removed their colony thither, or had they directed their vessels there in the first place. But we cannot, I believe, suppose that the ultimate result would have been different, for as the English race to-day holds Acadia where they did settle, so it would hold Massachusetts whether or not the French had first colonized it. The course of history has not been determined by such tenuous theories as the right of discovery and first occupation, but by the practical force of might. The French are a great people, and a brave race, ever in the vanguard of civilization, but their strength has never lain in colonization. The expedition reached the island again on August 2nd, and what follows is told us by Champlain in these words:

> Sieur de Monts determined to change his location, and make another settlement, in order to avoid the severe cold and the bad winter which we had in the Island of St. Croix. As we had not up to that time found any suitable harbour, and in view of the short time we had for building houses in which to establish ourselves, we fitted out two barques, and loaded them with the framework taken from the houses at St. Croix, in order to transport it to Port Royal, twenty-five leagues distant, where we thought the climate was much more temperate and agreeable.

Thus ended the settlement of de Monts at St. Croix Island At Port Royal they established themselves not far from the present Annapolis, and remained there for two years longer, when suddenly through the influence of powerful rivals de Monts' monopoly of the fur trade was revoked, and the place was temporarily abandoned. In the meantime, however, in June, 1607, the English had commenced their settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, so that the temporary withdrawal of the French did not mean the abandonment of the northern parts of the continent by Europeans. The following year, 1608, the French founded Quebec, and thereafter the French and English races steadily expanded in America, though with a difference in method and in rate, and in localities so unequal in climatic and other natural resources, that the English progressed the faster and came in time to dominate the whole.

Such was the first settlement of the island, and its ending. Its later history can be briefly traced. Champlain visited it in 1606 and saw some plants still flourishing in the gardens; and a year later L'Escarbot found the buildings standing as they had been left, untouched by the Indians. In 1610 the Sieur de Poutrincourt, who had been with de Monts on his first voyage, but had returned to France before the winter, went there, and as L'Escarbot tells us, "had prayers offered for the dead who had been buried there since the first voyage made by Sieur de Monts." And thus, touchingly and appropriately, ends the story of the first settlers of St. Croix Island. A year later, 1611-1612, a French trading expedition wintered on the island, no doubt taking advantage of the old buildings; but in 1613 an English expedition from Virginia, commissioned to drive the French from Acadia (which the English claimed by virtue of its discovery by Cabot), destroyed these buildings and left the island to return to wilderness. Such it remained for nearly two centuries. Then, in 1797 the ruins of the settlement were discovered, after the manner I shall in a moment relate, and in 1798 it was assigned by a boundary commission to the United States. Shortly before this it obtained its present name, a corruption of Docias (or Doshias), the common abbreviation of the name Theodosia borne by a young woman having some connection with the island though of what nature is uncertain. The French

spelling of the word seems to have been given it by Captain Owen in 1848, doubtless under the supposition that it was of French origin. About 1799 it was occupied by certain squatter settlers, and in 1820 it was first granted by Massachusetts to John Brewer, of Robbinston, who, in 1826, sold it to Stephen Brewer, merchant, of Northampton, Massachusetts, whose daughters are still living in that city. During the next few years it was occupied sporadically by a few settlers, principally as a fishing station. During this time the removal of its woods, and of much sand from its lower end, greatly hastened the disintegration of the island which commenced as a result of a natural sinking of the coast now steadily progressing, through geological causes, in this region. These influences have together brought it about that the island has been washed away at its lower end since the time of Champlain, though the loss is less extensive than commonly supposed. The day will probably come when it will be necessary to protect the soil of the island by proper retaining walls if it is not to be removed entirely, but I have no doubt that our successors, at the four hundredth anniversary, if not earlier, will properly perform this public duty. In 1856 the United States government purchased a part of it for a light station, and in 1869 the remainder was purchased by its present owners, most of them or their heirs residents of this valley. In 1866 an effort was made by a party including members of Congress, the superintendent of the United States Coast Survey and members of the Maine Historical Society to re-name it de Monts Island, but the name never came into use. Finally the latest but by no means the least important event of its history, we have ourselves made this day.

Such are the events which the island has witnessed. But in addition there are others of which it has been an incidental, or as one may say, an unconscious part, and to these I must very briefly refer. They are all connected with the part played by the island in making the St. Croix an international boundary. In the first place, it was this settlement, with its important and its sad outcome, which made the Island of St. Croix known to mankind, and which caused this river to appear as an important locality upon every subsequent map of the New World. Now a very curious, and forever important, result followed from this latter fact. Only

two years after de Monts' settlement on the island, King James I gave a patent to an English company, the Plymouth Company, permitting it to form settlements on the coast of Virginia, anywhere between thirty-eight and forty-five degrees, thus fixing the northern boundary of Virginia at the parallel of forty-five degrees. It was under this patent that Jamestown was commenced in 1607. In 1613, as we have seen, the English drove the French from Acadia, and in 1620, when the king gave a new charter to the Plymouth Company, its northern boundary was extended to forty-eight degrees (a part of the present northern boundary of New Brunswick, as it happens), doing this, without doubt, not because the Company was in immediate need of more land, but to assert a formal English claim to all Acadia. The very next year, 1621, the king made his well-known grant of Nova Scotia to his favorite, Sir William Alexander. This grant covered all of the present Nova Scotia, with all of New Brunswick and a part of Quebec, and the river St. Croix was made its western boundary. Obviously this covered all of the addition to the Plymouth Company's grant made the previous year, and it is known that the king secured a release from the Company before granting this territory to Alexander Now, under these circumstances, the natural southern boundary for Nova Scotia was the old northern boundary of Virginia, namely the forty-fifth parallel, and the question arises, why was this not chosen instead of the St. Croix River? The answer is suggested by passages in Sir William Alexander's own works where he lays especial emphasis upon the fact that his own grant of Nova Scotia was "the first national patent that ever was clearly bounded within America by particular limits upon the earth," and which show that he had much to do with the selection of its bounds. Now it happens that the St. Croix in the best maps of the time stood out as a very prominent river in the immediate vicinity of the forty-fifth parallel, and it would seem plain that, as river and parallel were practically coincident on the coast, the definite and recognizable river was chosen instead of the imaginary parallel, a boundary only determinable by expert researches and in no wise visible on the ground. But this choice of the river instead of the parallel had vital historical and political consequences, for such was the subsequent history of this part of America that the

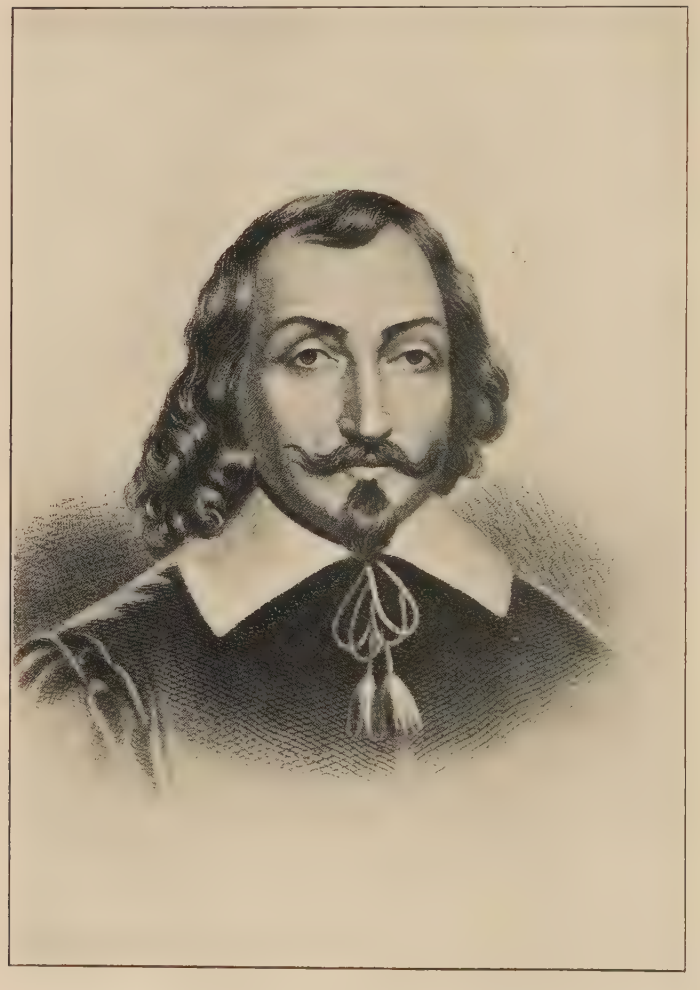
boundary thus established for Nova Scotia became later the boundary between Nova Scotia (which included New Brunswick until 1784) and Massachusetts, and so remained down to the close of the Revolution. Then, as this boundary separated the new free and independent state of Massachusetts from the old loyal Province of Nova Scotia, it was adopted as the international boundary in the treaty of peace in 1783. I believe, therefore, it is safe to say that, had there been no large river in the vicinity of the forty-fifth parallel on the maps in 1621 (and there would not have been were it not for de Monts' voyage and his settlement on St. Croix Island), then Alexander would have taken the forty-fifth parallel as his boundary, it would have remained the boundary between the friendly and both-British Provinces of Nova Scotia and Massachusetts down to the Revolution, and would have been chosen as the international boundary at its close. This conclusion we can the better believe when we note that, as it is, over two-fifths of the international boundary between the Atlantic and the St. Lawrence is actually to-day formed by that very forty-fifth parallel. This parallel passes through Perry to the south of us, whence it comes about that, had de Monts not settled on the St. Croix, Dochet Island and this spot where we stand would to-day have been British territory, and you, my friends of Calais, would now be rejoicing in British citizenship.

But the island has played yet another and very important part in the determination of the international boundary. The treaty of peace which closed the Revolution fixed the St. Croix as the international boundary. Now, though such a river was marked on all the maps of the time, these maps were so very poor that it was impossible to match their St. Croix with any of the rivers actually emptying into Passamaquoddy Bay. Furthermore, nobody living at Passamaquoddy knew which river emptying into that bay was the St. Croix, for all knowledge, and even tradition, of the settlement of de Monts had vanished, and no single river there actually bore that name. Naturally disputes arose and became acute, so that in 1794 the two governments appointed a commission of three to determine which was the true St. Croix of the treaty. The commission consisted of one British subject and one American citizen. They were empowered to choose a third and they chose another American citizen. The case was

argued before this tribunal by highly gifted counsel representing the two nations. The claim of the United States was that the Magaguadavic (a river emptying into the eastern side of Passamaquoddy Bay) was the St. Croix of the treaty, because on the maps used by the negotiators of the treaty the St. Croix was the easternmost of the rivers shown emptying into the bay and hence must answer to the Magaguadavic. The British claimed that the St. Croix of the treaty was the old St. Croix of de Monts' settlement, and was the river which now bears that name, the one beside which we are now assembled. The commissioners seem to have readily agreed that the St. Croix of de Monts' settlement was the St. Croix intended by the treaty, but they were not convinced that our St. Croix was the river on which he settled, for Champlain's maps and detailed narratives were then unknown in America. And now the island appears once more on the scene. In 1797 the British counsel obtained a copy of Champlain's map and narrative from Europe and sent it to a prominent resident of St. Andrews, Robert Pagan, who went to the island, and not only found that its location and appearance agreed exactly with the map and narrative of Champlain, but, going to the place on the island where the map showed the settlement to have been, he found there the ruins of the buildings, their chimneys, cellars and many articles, all densely covered by the forest of nearly two centuries' growth, but unmistakeable in their identity, and in perfect agreement with the maps. This information, substantiated by more careful examination later, was laid before the commissioners and they agreed immediately and unanimously that this river was the St. Croix meant by the treaty, a decision, be it noted, which required the two commissioners who were citizens of the United States to decide against the case of their own country, and with their single colleague. Now there can be no question whatsoever that this decision was a perfectly just one, as every student who has since carefully examined the subject agrees; and it is simply ignorance and prejudice which permit writers to claim, as they still occasionally do, that the Magaguadavic should have formed the boundary. But the service that Dochet Island performed in the case was this:—had it not been possible to identify the island in 1797 by Champlain's map, and especially by the discovery of the ruins, it is very doubtful if the commission would have

reached a correct decision; and, even if it had done so, it would always have been the belief of the losing side that the result was unfair, and the decision, whatever its nature, would have left a legacy of bitterness. Dochet Island has contributed, therefore, its small share to the peace of nations. In its decision, rendered in 1798, the commission fixed the mouth of the St. Croix at Joe's Point near St. Andrews, thereby assigning Dochet Island to the United States, for it lies west of the channel of the river, and each country received all islands lying on its own side of the channel. Had the commission fixed the mouth of the river at the Devil's Head, as many claimed should have been done for geographical reasons, then Dochet Island would to-day belong to New Brunswick; for the treaty assigned to Nova Scotia all the islands which previously belonged to it, and the original charter of Nova Scotia had granted it (and therefore its successor, New Brunswick), all islands within six leagues of its coasts. While on the subject of the St. Croix boundary I may add one word of interest about another part of it. It was a feature of the British claim that the western branch of the river, that running past Princeton to the Schoodic Lakes, was the boundary intended by the treaty; and in part the commissioners agreed with this claim. The northern branch, that now forming the boundary, was, however, chosen as a compromise measure. It is of interest to note that recent detailed critical studies have seemed to show that it was in reality the western source of the northern branch which was meant by the treaty and not the western branch of the river itself; and hence the commissioners even though they knew it not, chose correctly this time also. This entire commission was in every respect a model one, and stands as a shining example of the value of this method of settling international misunderstandings.

Dochet Island and its settlement, therefore, have for us to-day more than a single meaning. Marking, as it does, so momentous an event as the beginning of the European colonization of the principal part of this continent, it stands as a milestone on the world's road of progress. Fixing as it did, the St. Croix as the international boundary, it determined the most important event by far in the political history of this valley. The scenes enacted there have given us a locality hallowed by the charm of deeds



SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

whose recollection or recital stirs our hearts with eager interest, admiration and pity, for here men dared and won, suffered, were brave and died. The island is one of those rare places where the thoughtful student may come into communion with the silent witnesses of history, and thereby experience that exaltation which comes to some at such times, as it does to others in the contemplation of beauty in nature or art, to others in the spirit of literature, to others in the triumph of scientific discovery, to others in the success of accomplishment of great and good ends in business or in public service. And, most important of all, it has twice contributed to the peace and friendship of two great peoples, first when it aided commissioners to settle justly and to the satisfaction of all a vexatious boundary dispute: and again to-day, when we meet in simple brotherhood to celebrate together events in which our countries have had a common part. Such times recall our common origin, show how alike we are in sympathies and how similiar in ideals, and they make the political barrier between us seem trivial enough. That barrier may perhaps never be removed, and it may even be true that it has a positive value in promoting our mutual growth in some essential features, but it cannot prevent our realizing at such times as this that we are essentially one people. May we ever continue to walk together in the ways of peace, finding our best loved triumphs in the hearts of men.

Hon. James P. Baxter, President of the Maine Historical Society, was then introduced. The subject of his address was "Samuel de Champlain."

"Each is the architect of his own fortune" (Faber quisque fortunæ suæ) is a venerable and true proverb; but it is equally true that a man is also the product of his own time. The political, civil, moral and religious conditions amid which he grows from childhood to age; aye! even the sunshine and shadow, the hill and valley, the bush, meadow and waterless waste, familiar to his grosser senses, furnish elements which qualify his character and influence his destiny, and he may well exclaim with Faust:—

> In the currents of life in action's storm
> I float and wave

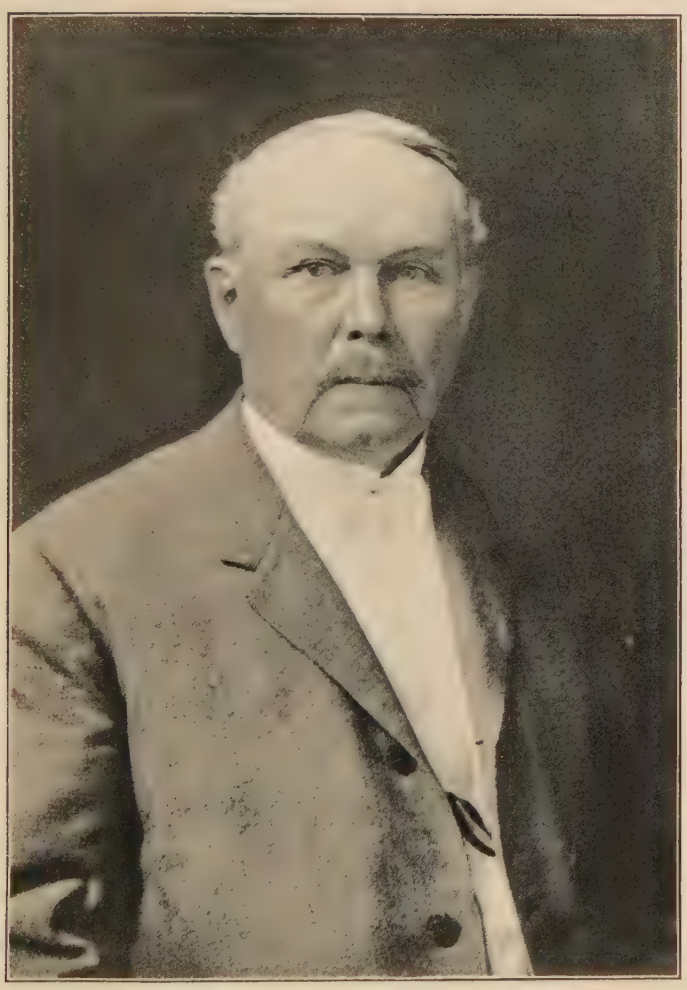
With billowy motion!
Birth and the grave
A limitless ocean,
A constant weaving.
With change still rife,
A restless heaving
A glowing life.
Thus time's whizzing loom unceasing I ply
And weave the life garment of deity.

In estimating, then, the character of a man of a past age, we should endeavor to place ourselves amid the surroundings in which he lived, and under the influences to which he was subjected, if we would know him somewhat intimately. I am impressed with the importance of this in attempting to make the acquaintance of a man so little known as Samuel de Champlain, whom I am expected to introduce to you on this occasion.

Brouage, the little seaport on the southwest shores of France, where Champlain first saw the light in 1567, was then and for a century or more later, a strategic military and naval post, and pronounced by Marshal Montluc to be the first seaport in France. Its principal industry was the manufacture of salt, which furnished profitable employment to its citizens, and gave it a distinct commercial importance.

Champlain's youth was passed amid stirring scenes. The pomp and circumstance of war were constantly before his eyes. He saw the tallest ships of the kingdom come with swelling sails from the gray sea beyond to seek shelter in the sunny harbor of his native town, and the brilliant soldiery of Charles IX and Henry III of Navarre and Condé, as they swept through the land in triumph or defeat; for, during all the years he was growing to manhood, his country was deluged with the blood of her children, whom religious fanaticism, mingled with self interest, had deprived of mercy. Over all Europe indeed, the storm which Wolsey had predicted and of which he said that it would "Be better for those who encountered it to die than to live," was raging with a persistence which gave no hope of cessation.

His native town was a coveted position for the contending parties. When he was but three years of age, it was taken by the Huguenots, who held it for six years, when Henry of Navarre captured it, and made it his stronghold, holding it against all



HON. JAMES P. BAXTER

assaults by land and sea for thirteen years. There were intervals, however, of rest from active warfare, and in these the industrious citizens of Brouage prosecuted their profitable employment in the salt fields about the town.

At a somewhat youthful age Champlain entered the service of the Duc de Merçœur, under whom he served in Brittany for a number of years. From Champlain himself we learn that he was quartermaster under Marshals de Saint Luc and of de Brissac, and was probably about thirty-one years of age when this service ceased. During this period of military service his duties were onerous, owing to the difficulty of obtaining supplies, but the fact that he held his responsible position until the end of the war, shows that he performed his part to the satisfaction of those in command.

With the disbanding of the military forces after the accession of Henry IV, Champlain found himself left in idleness, and he at once turned his attention to the sea, which offered to daring spirits an alluring field for adventure. France had not been backward in schemes of discovery and colonization in the past. Her daring fishermen were among the first to brave the perils of the Newfoundland coast to gather their annual harvest of the seas. Verrazano had been sent on his famous voyage to the New World by Francis I in 1525, and Jacques Cartier had discovered the St. Lawrence in 1535, and passed the winter among the savages of Canada. Others had followed him, but none had been able to make their undertakings of any value to France, which had been so constantly occupied with distracting wars, that she could lend but little support to schemes of colonization. The discoveries of Cartier, however, were not forgotten, and were well known to all interested in maritime adventure. Since Cartier's discoveries, England had sent many expeditions to American waters. Such men as Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Frobisher, Davis, and other Elizabethan seamen of renown had visited the waters of the New World, and Hakluyt had given their discoveries to Europe. Spain, however, had been the most successful among the nations in founding foreign colonies, which she guarded with jealous care from intercourse with her rivals. Her claims in the Western hemisphere were without bounds, and any efforts at colonization, even in the frozen regions of the north,

were regarded as hostile to her interests. For a century she had watched with malevolent vigilance the futile efforts of her European neighbors to establish themselves in the New World. Her active spies were at every court and in every seaport, ready to report any rumor of an expedition to the west. Even the maps and papers of Cabot, after he returned from his famous voyage of discovery a century before, fell into her hands and were lost to the world, as were many other important documents, for it was her policy to obliterate as far as possible the evidence of England's discoveries, and when Cartier was fitting out his little barks at St. Malo for his voyage to the St. Lawrence some forty years later, every movement was watched and reported to the king of Spain, who was advised by the Council for the Indies to send ships to intercept the Frenchmen. This he did not do because, he said, that experience warranted him in relying upon the ice and the tempestuous seas of the Baccalaos to thwart their designs. To those who were caught encroaching upon her preserves, or were suspected of designs not in accord with her interests, but little mercy was shown. The Contraction House took care of them as heretics, and they disappeared from human ken. Only occasionally did one escape to tell the tale, as in the case of Challons, one of Gorges' men, whose letter to Lord Chief Justice Popham is preserved with many another to tell its story of Spanish cruelty. But there are always ambitious men who are ready to risk their lives in dangerous adventure, and Champlain was such a man. He knew that Spain's West India possessions were to her a mine of wealth, and he resolved to visit them and study for himself her commercial secrets. How to do this was a problem not easy of solution. Fortune, it is said, helps the brave, and a happy combination of circumstances enabled him to carry his plans to a successful issue. In the civil war which had just closed a considerable Spanish force had been allied with the Catholic party, and among the French vessels employed to convoy the transports which were to convey these forces to Cadiz, was a ship, the St. Julian, commanded by his uncle. In this ship Champlain secured a passage, and during a month's stay in Cadiz, employed his time in gathering all the information possible of Spanish affairs. His uncle was fortunate in securing the good will of the commander of the Spanish West India fleet, who

chartered the St. Julian to accompany it, and made the French captain pilot-general. Thus Champlain was enabled to visit the West Indies, the Mecca of his desires. Touching at various places, he finally reached San Juan D'Ulloa, visited the City of Mexico, Havana, Carthagena and other places, making a careful study of everything which fell in his way, and numerous sketches, which it must have been necessary for him to guard with great secrecy. On his return home after an absence of over two years, many of these sketches were included in an elaborate report which he made to the king. In his report he suggests making a waterway through the Isthmus of Panama, which, he says, would shorten the route from sea to sea "By more than fifteen hundred leagues."

This report upon a subject so interesting to his countrymen brought him at once into favor with royalty, and Henry IV not only granted him a pension, but bestowed upon him the coveted honor of knighthood. This brought him to the notice of those in power, among whom was Aymar de Chastes, the Governor of Diéppe, a man much esteemed by the king for his loyalty and patriotism, who at once formed a warm attachment for the young adventurer.

As already said, the exploits of Aubert, de Lery, Verrazano, and especially of Cartier, whose discoveries overshadowed all others, were well known, and served as constant incentives to the French to follow up the designs of these adventurers in the waters which wash the stormy shores of Newfoundland, Labrador, and the still but little known and more remote Canada; indeed, the very year that Henry of Navarre assumed regal authority in France, two expeditions were fitted out for voyages to Canada, the more important under the Marquis de la Roche. These, however, failed in their designs, as well as two under Chauvin and Pont Gravé of Saint Malo, the home of the immortal Cartier, and when Champlain returned from his voyage to the West Indies, he was made acquainted with the failure of these last adventurers to Canada. To many it seemed as though further efforts to subdue "The frozen North," as it had been designated by Martyr, would have to be abandoned, but Providence at last had ready at hand in Champlain a man in every wise fitted to overcome the obstacles which had hitherto rendered all attempts at Canadian colonization abortive.

Aymar de Chastes, Governor of Diéppe, had taken a deep interest in the discoveries in the western world, and upon the death of Chauvin resolved to send out an expedition of observation preparatory to settling a colony in Canada, which he intended to conduct there himself for the service of "God and King." Having been acquainted with Champlain in Brittany, and appreciating his ability, he hastened to secure his services in this expedition. To this Champlain readily agreed, and the regal consent having been obtained with the charge to make a faithful report of the voyage, he set sail for the St. Lawrence on the 15th of March, 1603, in company with Pont Gravé, a distinguished merchant of Rouen, whom de Chastes had appointed the conductor of the expedition, which comprised two barks, and probably several smaller boats for service in shallow waters. The adventurers had with them two savages, who had been for some time in France, to facilitate intercourse with the people of the country. The voyage was prosperous, and they soon sighted Cape Ray, passed the northern shores of Cape Breton, the Island of Anticosti, and entering the St. Lawrence, finally cast anchor at Tadoussac. Some time was spent exploring the Saguenay, and then Pont Gravé and Champlain proceeded up the St. Lawrence to the Falls of St. Louis near Montreal. From here they explored the neighborhood on foot, not being able to pass the falls in a canoe, making stops at various points to study the geography and resources of the country, while Champlain sketched its more interesting features. Returning to Tadoussac, they set out for Gaspé, carefully exploring that interesting region, and having completed their labors they finally returned to Tadoussac, where their companions had collected a quantity of valuable furs. With these and several natives, one of whom was a son of a chief, and another a captive whom they had saved from torture, they set out on their return voyage to France, which they reached in safety on the 20th of September. On his arrival Champlain learned with sorrow that his patron and friend, de Chastes, had died shortly after his departure from France.

Champlain had brought with him from Canada many interesting sketches, which he at once laid before the king, together with a careful account of the country, its inhabitants and products. This account so deeply interested the king that he decided

Isle. de sainte Croix.
toise
10 20 40 60 80
Les chifres montrent les brasses d'eau.
A Le plan de l'habitation.
B Iardinages.
C Petit islet seruant de place forte à mettre le canon.
D Plaete forme où commençoit du canon.
E Le cimetiere.
F La chappelle.
G Basses de rochers autour de l'isle saincte Croix.
H vn petit islet
I Le lieu où le sieur de Mons
auoit fait commencer vn moulin à eau.
L Place où l'on faisoit le charbon
M Iardinages à la grãde terre de l'Ouest.
N Autres iardinages à la grande terre de l'Est.
O Grande montaigne fort haute dans la terre.
P Riuiere des Etechemins passant au tour de l'isle saincte Croix.

Map of St. Croix Island with Surroundings
Made by Champlain in 1604-5. Published in 1613

to foster colonial enterprises in the new land. Such an enterprise was soon set on foot by the Sieur de Monts, who had accompanied Chauvin on a former voyage to Canada. Having obtained a charter of the entire territory between the fortieth and forty-sixth degrees of north latitude, and the title of king's lieutenant in La Cadie, de Monts departed from Havre de Grace on the 7th of April, 1604, with two ships, and a hundred and twenty men of all trades. Besides these he was accompanied by a number of noblemen, among whom was Champlain, who was instructed by the king to make a full report of his observations as in former instances.

After seizing several ships engaged in the fur trade and making considerable explorations, the adventurers fixed upon the island of St. Croix, this very ground upon which we now are gathered, as the seat of their colony. As we stand here to-day we can readily behold with the eye of retrospection that little band of Frenchmen, busy with their preparations for making this their permanent habitation. On the sparkling waters their little barks swung at anchor, while boats at frequent intervals passed to and fro between them and the shore. The sky was blue as it is to-day, and the air was sweet with the breath of flowers, and musical with the notes of wild birds, which haunted the virgin forests about them. After their prosperous voyage across the great sea their hearts were buoyant, and their hopes for the future high. About them was a great world as yet unexplored, through which imagination soared at will, revelling in wonders unsurpassed by any in fairyland.

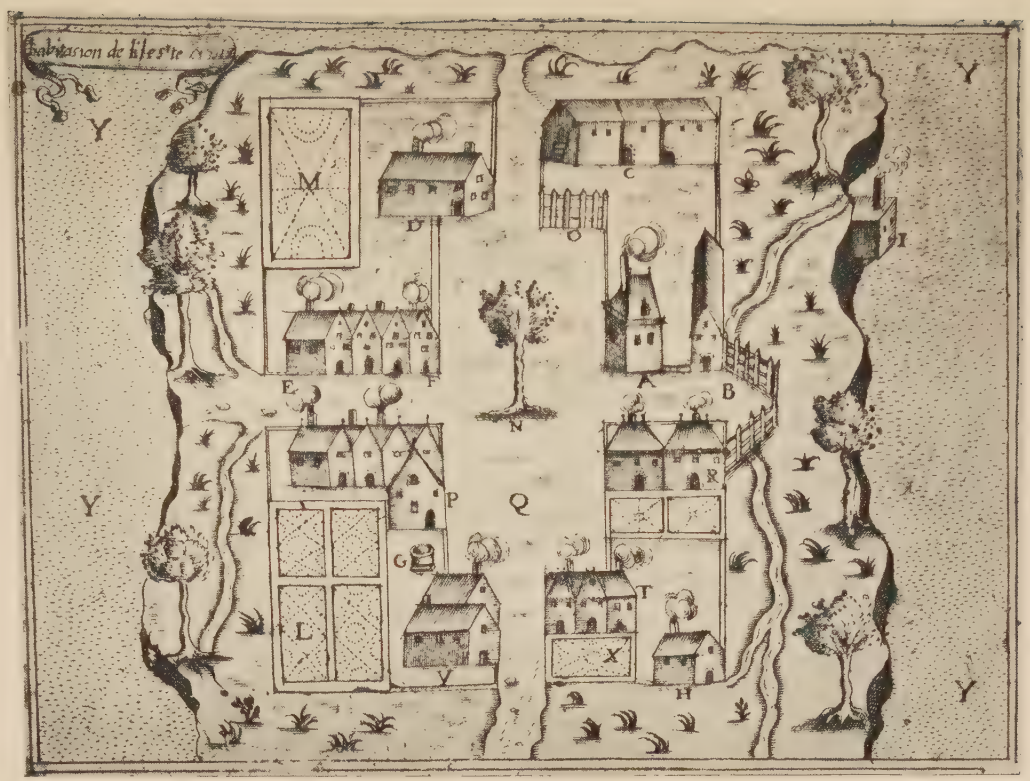
Champlain was charged with the duty of planning and laying out the future town, which he proceeded to do with his usual energy; at the same time he employed all his spare moments in making sketches of the geographical features of the country, and the settlements of the savages, whom he visited. While the workmen were engaged in erecting dwellings and storehouses, and laying out their gardens as designed by Champlain, he was selected in the early autumn to conduct explorations southerly along the coast of Maine, the mythical Norumbega. He was accompanied by two savage guides, and his little bark of eighteen tons bore a crew of twelve men. He was detained in Passamaquoddy Bay for a fortnight by the fogs so common there at this

season, but finally was able to proceed on his way. Skirting the wild shores of Maine, and winding in and out among the numerous islands which characterize the region, he came to Pemetiq, which he named Monts Desert, on account of its sterile mountains, and dropped anchor in the vicinity of Bar Harbor. From here he explored the shores of the island to a cove "At the foot of the mountains," doubtless Otter Creek Cove. Here he met a party of savages, who were fishing and hunting for otters, by whom he was piloted in friendly fashion to the Penobscot, then known as the Norumbega, but which had been named by Gomez, nearly eighty years before, the Rio de los Gamos, because of the numerous deer which he saw on its banks. Champlain explored this noble river to the mouth of the Kenduskeag, when further progress was barred by the falls just above the present city of Bangor. On the way he passed scattered wigwams, but the region seemed to have but few inhabitants. Along the shores of the bay and about the river's mouth, the inhabitants were numerous, and received their strange visitors with friendliness. From here Champlain attempted the exploration of the Kennebec, but meeting with bad weather was obliged to relinquish his undertaking and return to St. Croix Island, which he safely reached on October 2, just a month from his departure.

In selecting this island for their future colony the adventurers made a fatal mistake, though, for the time, it was well adapted for defence; but it lacked all the essentials for a colonial establishment. Its small size, its unproductive soil and lack of wood and water, rendered it far less suitable for a plantation than scores of other places not far away.

The French, however, had made the most of their time and resources, and had well fortified it against the savages, if such perchance should prove unfriendly, and even against any Spanish or English foes who might come into the vicinity.

Four days after Champlain's return to St. Croix snow began to fall. Soon the island was surrounded by moving ice, and they found themselves imprisoned in their new home. This proved to be very inconvenient, as they had expected to live largely upon game, which abounded on the main land, but which they found it impossible to reach. They were therefore compelled to use the salted meats which they had brought from France, which was



Champlain's Sketch of the Island of St. Croix and Buildings, 1604

productive of the fatal scurvy, a disease from which Cartier had severely suffered in Canada seventy years before. This scourge to so many early adventurers they named "Mal de la terre," and by it nearly one-half of the colonists found graves on this little island.

With the return of spring the disheartened colonists began preparations to return to France, but before they were completed, they were cheered by the arrival of Pont Gravé with supplies, and they resolved to seek another site for their colony. It was on the 18th of June 1605, that Champlain set sail from the island of St. Croix with de Monts and a number of gentlemen, a boat's crew of twenty men, and an Indian guide with his wife, to explore the coast to the west. The French were not aware that on the very day which they left St. Croix, an English vessel, the Archangel, commanded by Capt. George Waymouth, was just leaving the shores which they were about to explore, to return to England. For a month past the English had been examining the coast of Maine, and had set up a cross at Pentecost Harbor in token of English possession. On board were five natives whom they had captured and were carrying home to be taught the English tongue, that they might become interpreters and guides for future adventurers.

The French, skirting the rugged and picturesque shores of eastern Maine, entered the Kennebec seventeen days after leaving St. Croix, and carefully explored this noble river and adjoining waters. On their way they frequently met the natives of the country, who received them in a friendly manner. On the 9th of July they passed outside of the islands which lie across the entrance to Portland Harbor, which escaped their attention. Had they entered it, they would undoubtedly have fixed upon it for settlement, and the history of Maine and of the country might have been completely changed. As it was they landed at the little island now known as Stratton's, and paid a visit to Richmond's Island, where they found vines loaded with green grapes, and therefore named it Bacchus Island. Along the shores of Prout's Neck and vicinity, the savages seeing the white sails of the French bark as it swept by, gathered excitedly and followed its course, shouting and lighting fires to attract the attention of the strangers. With the flow of the tide they crossed the bar

and entered the Saco, where Champlain had an opportunity to visit an Indian settlement, and behold the mode of life of the people, and their manner of cultivating corn and other vegetables. Two days were spent here, when they again resumed their voyage westward, encountering a storm which compelled them to anchor near Cape Porpoise, where they found wild pigeons in great abundance attracted thither by the wild currants and other fruits which covered the land. From the natives with whom Champlain had friendly intercourse, he was able to gain much valuable knowledge of the region to the west, and of the tribes living there.

On the 16th of July, the French bark anchored at East Boston. On every hand the voyagers saw fields of corn and stretches of land cleared for cultivation. To the Charles River was given the title of Riviére du Guast, in honor of the patentee. Leaving Boston Harbor on the 17th of July they skirted the coast, anchoring at Marshfield, where they held pleasant intercourse with the natives, who were engaged in cod fishing with hooks made of wood, having a barb formed of a sharp fragment of bone.

At Nauset Harbor the voyagers had their first unpleasant encounter with the natives. While some of the sailors were getting water from a spring, a native coveting the copper vessel which one of the party was using snatched it from his hand, and in the encounter which ensued the sailor was slain.

On the 25th of July the expedition westward came to an end, and the voyagers turned their faces toward the east, stopping finally at the Kennebec, where they learned for the first time of Waymouth's visit there. This was not pleasant news to them. They knew the enterprise and persistence of the English too well to regard their presence in these waters with indifference, and they no doubt proceeded on their way to St. Croix with apprehension of future trouble. They reached St. Croix on the 8th of August, strangely enough having found no place which they regarded as suitable for settlement. Port Royal, now Annapolis Basin, was known to them, and they decided to remove there for the coming winter, which they at once proceeded to do by taking down and transporting to that place a portion of the materials which composed their buildings.[1] While they were putting up

[1] Portions of these buildings were found standing on the island long after.

their dwellings at Port Royal, de Monts departed for France, leaving Pont Gravé in his place. The winter at Port Royal passed with less suffering to the colonists than the preceding one, but out of forty-five persons who composed the colony, twelve succumbed to the dreaded "Mal de la terre."

During the coming summer Champlain attempted on several occasions to resume explorations to the south, but was beaten back by storms. Not receiving the necessary supplies from France promised by de Monts, Pont Gravé resolved to abandon the settlement and return home with the colonists by the fishing vessels which frequented the shores of Cape Breton, and they had departed from Port Royal for that purpose, when they were intercepted by a boat from the supply ship, which had passed them unobserved, hence they turned back with the determination to spend another winter at Port Royal. In the supply ship came de Poutrincourt, who, taking the place of Pont Gravé, permitted him to return home.

It was decided now to attempt another exploration to the south, and Champlain set out with de Poutrincourt, touching at various points as they proceeded, until they reached Vineyard Sound, when, not having found a place to their satisfaction, they turned back to Port Royal, which they reached, after escaping many perils, on November 14.

Another dreary winter was passed, relieved somewhat by amusing ceremonies, and spring had arrived, when the colonists were startled by the news brought them by the captain of their former supply ship, that the charter of de Monts had been revoked, which must end their colonial undertaking. Before embarking, however, on the supply ship, which was awaiting a freight of fish, de Poutrincourt and Champlain made extensive explorations along the shores of Nova Scotia in search of minerals. The colonists having at last all assembled at Canso, departed for France, September 3, arriving at St. Malo, October 1, 1607, after an absence of over three years. Champlain brought back with him to France sketches and maps of the coast from Canso to Vineyard Haven, which were a great addition to the geographical knowledge of the time, and added much to his fame.

De Monts, although he had suffered grievous disappointment and loss in his colonial undertakings, Champlain found still as

interested as ever in similar projects, and contemplating new adventures. Having finally succeeded in obtaining a new concession from the king, he fitted out two ships in the spring of 1608 for Canada. Champlain, whose wisdom and force of character as well as honesty of purpose, had won the confidence of de Monts, was selected to command the expedition, and on April 13, 1608, he departed from Honfleur, arriving at Tadoussac on the 3d of June. On arrival he found Pont Gravé, who had preceded him, suffering seriously from wounds received in a conflict with a fur trader. A less prudent man than Champlain, armed with his power, would have at once inflicted summary punishment upon the aggressor, but Champlain rightly concluded that discretion was the better part of valor, hence he compromised affairs and left disputes to be settled later when they all reached home. Having ascended the St. Lawrence, Champlain, on July 3, laid the foundations of Quebec. After a year passed in toilsome explorations, amid scenes of savage warfare and cruelty, barely on one occasion escaping a plot to assassinate him, Champlain returned home in the autumn of 1609, and, seeking an audience with the king, laid before him the results of his labors.

Again Champlain was engaged by de Monts to take charge of another expedition to Canada, and on the 8th of April, 1609, he once more set sail for the St. Lawrence, and arrived at Tadoussac after a voyage of but eighteen days. Proceeding to Quebec, he found the settlement which he had planted there in a prosperous condition. War, however, between the savage allies of the French and the Iroquois had begun, and he thought it politic to make common cause with the former against their foes. The Iroquois could not stand against the firearms of the French, and were defeated with great slaughter. The war ended, Champlin returned to Quebec and began to apply himself to the affairs of the colony, when a ship arrived from France, bringing news of the assassination of Henry IV. This was a serious blow to Champlain, and, leaving affairs in charge of one of his associates, he returned to France in the autumn of 1810.

Eager to return to Quebec, Champlain on the first of the following March again set out to rejoin his little colony. It was too early in the season, and his ships encountered immense fields of ice, amid which they struggled in constant danger of

destruction until May 13, when they finally made the harbor of Tadoussac. Proceeding to Quebec, Champlain at once began the exploration of the St. Lawrence, seeking a site for a trading station with the savages. The point selected by him was the site of the present city of Montreal, the ancient Hochelaga of Cartier, which had now disappeared, as well as the people whom Cartier had found there. They had been swept away by war, and their lands were possessed by their foes. Trade with Champlain was a matter of secondary interest, but his relations with the colony made it necessary for him to give it attention. To establish the power of France in the new land was one of his chief aims, the other to find a waterway to the Pacific, and he devoted himself as far as possible in obtaining by personal observation and conversation with the savages, a knowledge of the country and its waterways. The fur trade upon which de Monts largely depended proving unprofitable, Champlain found it advisable to return to France to report the situation of affairs to his principal. This he accordingly did, and reached France on the 16th of September, 1611. Here he found the affairs of the company, of which de Monts was the head, in an unsatisfactory condition, and he was appointed to reorganize it. Having accomplished this, after overcoming almost insurmountable difficulties, he set out with four vessels for Quebec, which he reached on the 7th of May, and on the 27th started on a voyage of exploration, amusing himself with the dream, which had not yet ceased to delude adventurers to the New World, that he might perchance stumble upon the mysterious waterway which led to rich Cathay. Misled by a man whom he had permitted to live among the savages for some time, he undertook an expedition to discover the "North Sea." After incredible hardships, the explorers reached Allumette Island, where they learned from the savages that no such sea existed, and therefore turned back, accompanied by a host of their savage friends in canoes. Upon reaching Montreal Champlain found three ships from France, sent over by the company, and having embarked the furs he had collected and arranged to send two of his young men with the savages to learn their language, he embarked for home.

The year 1614 was spent by Champlain in France. The subject of Christianizing the savages had long been desired by him,

and he succeeded in interesting the Recollect Fathers of Brouage in the undertaking, hence on the 24th of April, 1615, he embarked with four of them for Canada. Reaching Quebec, his first work was to build a chapel and suitable quarters for his missionaries, and then to visit the savages, who had gathered at Montreal to meet him. They informed him of the difficulty which they encountered in carrying on trade with the French, owing to the Iroquois, who intercepted them when they attempted to reach the French settlements, and begged Champlain to render them assistance. Realizing the necessity of impressing the savages with his friendship and power, as well as to keep open communication with them, he arranged to accompany them against their enemies. Proceeding into the Iroquois country the allies beseiged their stronghold, but after a fierce battle in which Champlain was wounded, his allies lost courage and beat a hasty retreat. Finding it impossible to reach Quebec until the following spring, he was obliged to pass the winter with them, much against his wishes, and it was not until the 11th of July following that he arrived at Quebec to the great joy of the Recollect Fathers, who celebrated his safe return with a public thanksgiving. Having made provision for the enlargement of the fort and comfort of the missionaries, he set out for France, which he reached on the 16th of September, 1616.

In each of the two succeeding years Champlain spent a portion of his time with the colonists. He planted grain, and laid before the Council of State the results of his experiments; indeed, he strove in every way to advance the importance of the colony in the regard of those in authority in France. For two years he was absent from his colony endeavoring to compose dissensions in the Company, and in May, 1620, having been made the lieutenant of the viceroy and high admiral of France, he sailed from Honfleur with his young wife for Canada. His arrival was warmly welcomed both by the colonists and missionaries, whose affairs had languished during his absence. His first work was to repair the dilapidated buildings and encourage the people to cultivate their neglected lands; then he began to build a fortress on the cliffs above the settlement for their better protection. For four years he labored incessantly to advance the prosperity of the colony, composing differences among the savage tribes, and

encouraging the colonists to rely upon the products of the country for support rather than upon the Company. On the 15th of August, 1624, he again sailed for France with his wife, and reached Diéppe on the 1st of the following October. For a year and a half he remained in his native land, striving to promote the interests of his colonists, at the end of which time he thought it advisable to return. Accordingly, on the 15th of April, 1626, he again set his face towards Canada, and reached Quebec on the 5th of the following July, where he found that everything during his absence had been suffered to go to waste. The colonists had even neglected to gather sufficient forage for their cattle, and were constantly menaced by their savage enemies. To improve conditions he had the cattle removed to the rich meadows of Cape Tourmente, where he erected buildings and provided proper protection. He also enlarged the fortress, and again set his hand to the improvement of the buildings of the Company, changing what had become a scene of idleness and neglect to one of activity and order. But the colonists were not disposed to rely upon the land for subsistence, preferring to receive their supplies from France, and agriculture was neglected. This neglect Champlain labored to overcome without success, and although twenty years had passed since the founding of Quebec, but a single family depended for subsistence upon agriculture.

Another cause of disquiet was the religious antagonisms which existed between Huguenots and Catholics, and which it was impossible to overcome. Richelieu resolved to change these conditions, and accordingly brought about the dissolution of the Company and the formation of another, which he entitled the Company of New France, of which he held control. The authority of this new company was stretched over all the French possessions on the continent, comprising New France and Florida. Everything promised the fruition of Champlain's dreams for French domination in the New World from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean, for these only were the limits which France set for herself. The claims of England seem hardly to have been considered, and yet this virile and aggressive nation had sent out Cabot, who made the first discovery of the northern continent, and had followed up this discovery by frequent voyages to its

shores, though it had not, before the advent of Champlain at St. Croix, established a permanent colony within its borders. It had, however, made extensive grants of territory, among others, a grant to Sir William Alexander of a domain of royal magnitude, denominated by James I, New Scotland, in honor of his native country. This grant comprised a portion of the Province of Quebec, and while Richelieu, with Champlain's assistance, was shaping his splendid project, Alexander and his associates, wealthy merchants of London, were preparing a fleet of six ships, heavily armed, with authority from the English king to seize and confiscate French or Spanish ships, and to destroy and break up French settlements wherever found on the St. Lawrence or in its vicinity.

Champlain had but begun his new duties, which promised the greatest success, when he heard through a savage courier of the arrival at Tadoussac of a fleet of six English ships of war, which news was immediately followed by a dispatch demanding the surrender of Quebec. Champlain's reply was dignified and sarcastic, and believing that the French strength was greater than it really was, Kirke, the English commander, withdrew, destroying all the fishing vessels of the French that he met. On his way along the coast, Kirke met the French fleet under convoy of four war-ships, with colonists and supplies for Champlain and captured them all, twenty-two in number. This was a fatal blow to Champlain's hopes, and when Kirke's fleet returned the next summer they met with no resistance, as the colonists were in a starving condition.

After the surrender, the English took possession of Quebec, and raised the standard of England over the fortress. Champlain was taken to England by the triumphant Kirke, but the victor's triumph was of short duration, for he found upon his arrival that peace had been concluded between England and France before the capture of Quebec, and that not only must Quebec be restored to the French, but restitution of the captured colony as well. This was a disheartening blow to the English. On Champlain's arrival in France after his capture, he found affairs in a condition unfavorable to the interests of his colony in New France. Richelieu was too fully occupied in parrying the assaults of his enemies to give much attention to

him, and Louis XIII knew little, and cared less for the faithful servant who had so long devoted himself to the task of extending the rule of France over the western continent. More interesting things immediately about him occupied the royal attention. Even the little pension which his father had bestowed upon Champlain was suspended, and it was necessary to sue for its renewal. A memorial was drawn up by Champlain directed to the king, in which he recapitulated the services which he had performed for the crown, and described the new country, its people, its products and the advantages, which France might gain from it. "Behold, sire," he says in closing his petition, "a sample of the labor of the Sieur de Champlain, who for thirty-five years has rendered continual service to your Majesty, as well in the service of the late king as in the voyage that he made thirty years past to the East Indies, and since in New France, where he has almost continually sojourned; and, as recompense can be expected for services rendered to your Majesty, the Sieur de Champlain dares to pray to grant him this favor, that the pension which he has had for twenty-five years may be continued by the command of your Majesty, in order to give him the means of continuing his service, and he will pray God for the increase of your estate, and the health and prosperity of your Majesty."

Whether Champlain's pension was continued we know not. The negotiations relative to the restoration of Quebec to France dragged along until the 13th of July, 1632, and on the 23d of the following March Champlain again sailed from Diéppe for Quebec with three ships, as governor. On the 23d of May his ships dropped anchor at Quebec amid the rejoicings of the colonists, who gave him a royal welcome. It was probably the proudest moment of his life. Without loss of time he began the restoration of the neglected buildings, and erected a memorial chapel to commemorate the restoration of Quebec to the French. For over two years Champlain devoted himself earnestly to the affairs of the colony. In the autumn of 1635, he was seized with an illness, which terminated his useful life on the following Christmas.

Never was a man more sincerely mourned than was Champlain by the colonists of New France, to whom he had endeared himself by his wise management and unselfish devotion to their

welfare. He was buried in the memorial chapel which he had erected. This chapel was subsequently destroyed and the place which it occupied forgotten; so that to-day we know not the spot where he was buried. It is, perhaps, enough to know that his dust is commingled with that of the land he loved, though the name by which he knew it is no longer on the tongues of living men.

It has seemed necessary on such an occasion as this to give an outline however brief and imperfect it may be of Champlain's achievements, in order to bring his personality more distinctly into view. And, as it is always asked at the close of a man's life what did he accomplish? it may be answered, that he laid the corner-stone of a French empire in America, which, had she possessed the wisdom and virtue necessary to hold and develop it on true lines, might have made her to-day the chief among world powers.

Moreover, Champlain will always be regarded as one of the few great explorers of this continent. He indeed possessed all the qualities necessary to success in the field of exploration: high physical endurance, passion for adventure, persistence of purpose, sublime courage, unfailing patience, a hopeful spirit; all these he unquestionably possessed. Reared in a community and amid conditions which perhaps unduly exalted the art of navigation, he fostered from youth an admiration for those who "Go down to the sea in ships." His own words on this subject reveal the motive of his life. He says, "Of all the most useful and excellent arts, that of navigation has always seemed to me to occupy the first place. For the more hazardous it is, and the more numerous the perils and losses by which it is attended, so much the more is it esteemed and exalted above all others, being wholly unsuited to the timid and irresolute. By this art we obtain a knowledge of different countries, regions and realms. By it we attract and bring to our own land all kinds of riches; by it the idolatry of paganism is overthrown and Christianity proclaimed throughout all the regions of the earth. This is the art which won my love in my early years, and induced me to expose myself almost all my life to the impetuous waves of the ocean, and led me to explore the coasts of a part of America, especially those of New France, where I have always desired to

Tercentenary Exercises, St. Croix Island, June 25, 1904

View from St. Croix Island, June 25, 1904

see the Lily flourish, together with the only religion, catholic, apostolic, and Roman."

France never had a more patriotic son than Champlain. In his devotion to her interests he never faltered. His voyage to the West Indies in which he so persistently labored to gather a knowledge of Spain's commercial secrets for the benefit of his country, and, as it seems, without prospect of reward, is evidence of this. Though ostensibly acting for a commercial company in New France, whose sole motive was gain, he seems to have been at all times dominated by the lofty purpose of creating a New France in the wilds of North America, in which Christianity should hold a chief place. While forwarding this purpose, he never lost sight of his duties to those whose commercial interests were entrusted to his care, and this seems to have been recognized by his associates, though they were not always in sympathy with his philanthropic plans.

But Champlain was more than an explorer and philanthropist. In the difficult negotiations which he was obliged to conduct when at home with those in power, negotiations which involved the colonial and commercial existence of the enterprise in which he was so deeply interested, he exhibited qualities which show him to have possessed broad statesmanlike views, as well as prudence and sagacity. He never seems to have been swerved from his purposes by difficulties which he encountered. It has been said that a man's stability is measured by his faith. The truth of this Champlain well exemplified in his life, for he possessed a soul, which, amid the most disheartening conditions, preserved an indefectible serenity, while his own expressions reveal the quality of his faith.

The influence of Champlain's achievements upon American history must ever be acknowledged. His mantle as an explorer fell upon Marquette, Joliet and LaSalle, who blazed the pathway to English power in the great west. For more than a century the New France, which he was instrumental in starting upon its career, continued to flourish despite the shifting and repressive rule of royal governors and rigid prelates, who carried on a zealous competition, the one to gain from the savages the most peltries, the other the most proselytes. Beyond her borders, however, was another race, sturdy, self-reliant and ambitious,

pursuing more practical methods for its advancement, which soon placed it far in the van. Really it was but the shifting of a scene from the Old World to the New, for the principles animating the different forms of civilization which characterized the two nationalities, now growing side by side, had long been at strife, and could but come into conflict again in the ripeness of time. We know the result of that conflict, and while we may feel sympathy for the failure of the splendid scheme which Champlain and a few choice spirits of his time so fondly cherished, we can but conclude that this result vastly contributed to the progress and development of this great American people, whose future grandeur and power we can at present but imperfectly estimate. Yet while we realize this, and thank God for the rainbow of promise which spans our horizon, we may properly do honor to a man like Champlain, of whom, though he might not sympathize with our conceptions of government, nor our forms of faith, it was possible for a thoughtful historian like Creuxius to say that "His surpassing love of justice, piety, fidelity to God, his king, and the Society of New France, had always been conspicuous," and that "In his death he gave such illustrious proofs of his goodness as to fill everyone with admiration." In doing honor to such a man, whatever may be his nationality or his faith, we do honor to ourselves, to our religion and to our God.

The following ode, written by Mr. Henry Milner Rideout, of Calais, was read by Mr. Charles T. Copeland:

I.

League upon league lay aboriginal shore: —
Forest of fir, or promontory,
Inlets and islands in a labyrinth green,
Sailless, eternal, the ocean,
Toiling in barren motion;
Slow drift of fog across the wide sea-floor,
Wheeling of gulls, the sweep of level rain,
Flight over valley and plain
Of shadow and sunlight; far seen,
Shadow and myth of the forest, a story
Of Indian lives, passing forevermore

As voyaging silhouettes of frail canoes
Forth into sunset from a river mouth :
Crumbling, abandoned, far to the south,
Ruins of Old-World venture, where the ooze
Covered their jetsam at the verge of seas,
Or briar and windfall overlay the forts
And mossy palisades where time prevailed
Against the explorer : — desert memories
Where Cabot or where Verrazano sailed
Stirring far strife in kings of ancient courts.

II.

This was the Abenaki land :
Till on a day among the uncounted days,
White in the sunlight, a sail
Nicked the horizon ; nearing
Over the sea, threading the island maze,
By ruddy shore and sombre headland veering,
There came a barque, tiny and frail,
But freighted with high enterprise, and manned
By hearts adventurous ; following time and chance,
Into the hill-cleft water-ways
With ceaseless ebb and flow astir,
Into the sunset blaze
Craftily steering,
High on her mast
They bore the banner of old France
To the new land Acadia ; and cast
Their anchor by this island of the bays,
At the commandment of Pierre du Gast,
And merry, brown Champlain, the king's geographer.

III.

And then the shore
That long had echoed to the lonely cries
Of wailing tern, or Indian forest-call,
First heard the cannon roar
From shipboard, rattling tackle and spar,
On sails descending to the downhaul ;
Cheer and halloo, laughter and southern song
Of rowers pulling landward ; and at night
When the ship-lantern bright
Swung in the rigging, or from island-height
The camp-fire blazed, what wonder coursed along
The darkness of the mainland, what surmise
Of humble savages, from thickets peering far
Toward the mysterious flame beneath the evening star ?

IV.

Days passed, and statelier vessels bare
With echoing salute and trumpet-blare
Men to the up-springing settlement:
Gay musketeers at game with destiny
Thronged laughing in the rough-hewn barricade;
While the dark priests on holy mission sent,
Raising their symbol in rude cedar, blest
La Sainte Croix, where the Christian faith should be.
Busily plied mattock and spade
In virgin soil, till gardens flourished fair.
Black-throated on the island crest
Menacing cannon level o'er the tide
Guarded the channels wide;
While the Swiss carpenters, toiling without rest,
Built orderly around the spreading tree,
In grassy square and meadow street arrayed,
Forge, magazine, and chapel; now appeared
High on the isle, deep mirrored in the bay
What time their banner drooped in autumn air,
Dwellings of gentlemen,— de Beaumont and Boulay,
Sourin, de Genestou, D'Orville, and Fougeray,
Merry companions all; above them reared
The pointed gables of the leader's house, o'erlaid
With carvéd wood Parisian, from the Seine conveyed
To show the uncharted lands their seigneur's pride.

V.

Much is untold; nor may we ever guess
Of this brave venture in the wilderness
The heart and human mystery;
But glimpses vain
Survive, of work by mainland waterfall
And sunlit gardens upon either shore,
The earliest tillage; meagre history,
Jotted by men of action, may recall
How through the days and nights of rain,
All in their covered gallery at play,
Light hearts grew lighter till the rafters rang.
Music of viols in the dusky hall,
Galliardize and loud uproar
Set feet a'dancing; at the genial sound
Even the surliest mariner island-bound
Forgot his grumbling mutiny, and sang:—
"*Pauvre homme, 'l a tombé à la mer,*
Pauvre homme, 'l a tombé à la mer,

Les autres estoient bien dans la peine,
Il vente . . . . .
C'est la vent de la mer qui nous tourmente!"

VI.

So fled the autumn, till October snow
Swept down the river gardens : at a blow
The hard-won fields lay white and desolate,
Sky-line of fir serrate
Ran soft and billowy against the winter's blue.
In vein and marrow shivering Latins knew
The bitterness of the northwest wind, a foe
Cruelly searching every cranny through
In blinding siege of drifts around their gate.
And yet these idle, gay, fore-doomed men
Forsook not merriment ; nor was there dearth
Of young Parisian wit, whose nimble pen
Held between fingers cold, scribbled and drew
Their *Maitre Guillaume*, the bulletin of mirth.
— Thus lagged the frozen time to Christmas tide,
When frosty stars burned o'er the silence wide,
And huddled in the curé's dwelling low
Wondering worshippers of Glooscap heard
The tale, obscure in many a faltering word,
Of the Most Holy Child,
Beneath far other stars born of a Virgin mild.

VII.

Fate willed it should be otherwise ; not then
The seeds of gentle Christendom should grow
On granite ledge amid the alien fir.
To dark, lone ordeal of death in men
Of kindred race, the priest should minister.
For in the noonday of the glaring snow
Pestilence walked ; by torchlight, or the blue
Unearthly dawn of winter glimmering through
The cabin window, sped the shuddering souls
Of artisan and soldier ; sacrament
They craved, and fled beyond the silent air.
The scurvy-smitten band of comrades, pent
In icy rivers, learned of bleak despair
That Death, as cold and wide as winter, rolls
O'er farthest continent,
And brave companions vanish everywhere.
— And yet the healing miracle of spring
Came to the isle, and crosses tottering
In the upheaval of slow frost that eased

The iron limits cut in shallow graves,
Marked the full number. From the plague released
The pale survivors scanned the eastern waves
For succor ; many a day
On the brown knolls of April stood they peering
Outward and outward ; there it came — but no,
It was the ice and snow
Forth of some inlet clearing.
But southward there ! — Alas,
Only the shifting mass
More white than sail — the fisher-gulls at play.
Mayflowers died, June came ; at last, the sail —
Du Pont Gravé of Honfleur ! — whose fanfare
And cannonade they answered with a hail
Of men restored to joy ; the prison bare,
The sepulchre of frustrate dreams, flung wide
The door for their escape ; nor was it long
E'er fading sails through islets dim descried
Stole seaward like the fragment of a song :

" *Tu le retrouv'ras en paradis !*
Il vente
C'est la vent de la mer qui nous tourmente ! "

VIII.

Here stands the remnant of the isle, but where
Dwell the defeated spirits, whether those
Who to Port Royal bore
The folded banner and dismantled frame
Of settlement, or those, the island dead,
Whose bones were left to wear
In slow effacement with the tidal shore ?
The hillock silver-crowned with gracile birch
Melts in the levelling centuries.
Margins forlorn of the brown ocean-bed
That flooding seas reclaim,
Show to our patient search
Few vestiges. The envious wave o'erflows
Earth and the man. Oblivion would seem
Victorious, and those eager lives a dream.
— It is not so ; for here before the seas
And everlasting hills
To witness, we do rear
Enduring bronze — we, who shall soon appear
Dream and illusion to our children.
Nature, unheeded or beloved, fulfills
Her awful purposes; ephemeral men,
The deeper marvel, shall hand on renewed

Courage, and faith, and mending destiny
For days they shall not see.
Here flows the shining river endlessly,
Here the isle echoes with their fortitude.

Brief addresses were made by M. Kleczkowski, Consul-General of France, Captain Dillingham, of the Detroit, Captain Aubry, of the Troude, and Captain Hill, of the Columbine.

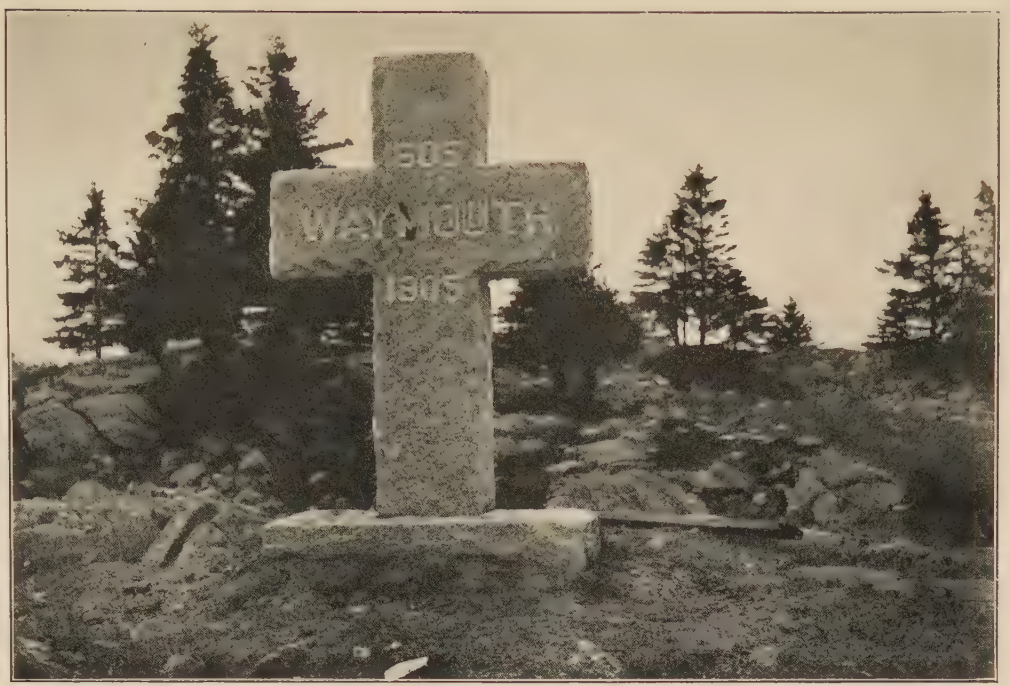
The exercises were closed with the singing of "God Save the King" and "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." At the singing of "God Save the King" Captain Dillingham, of the Detroit, who was standing by the side of General Murray, left his place, and walking down the line, stood by the side of Captain Hill and joined heartily with the British captain in singing the British national hymn. Then he returned to General Murray's side and joined as heartily in the singing of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee."

Some of the visitors remained in Calais over Sunday, and by invitation, at a union service held on Sunday evening, Rev. H. S. Burrage, D.D., spoke on "The Religious Aspects of the de Monts Celebration."

THE WAYMOUTH TERCENTENARY

The celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of George Waymouth's voyage to the coast of Maine in 1605 was celebrated at St. George's Harbor and in Thomaston on Thursday, July 6, 1905. That day was selected as a fitting day for the celebration on account of favorable tide conditions.

In the preparations for the celebration most intelligent and efficient service was performed by Hon. Joseph E. Moore of Thomaston. As chairman of the Thomaston committee on the tercentenary he worked early and late for several months, devoting his time and energies very largely in the effort to make the celebration worthy of this historic town. He inspired his fellow townsmen with the same spirit that characterized his own labors, and he secured from the town at the annual town meeting generous financial aid. That this anniversary occasion was in every way successful was due in a very large measure to Mr. Moore's wise, strenuous and patriotic leadership. With him were associated in valued cooperative service the other members of the Thomaston committee. Hon. E. A. Butler of Rockland was helpful in matters pertaining to transportation. Mr. Frank B. Miller, a native of Cushing (aided by Aug. S. Fales and Rev. Mr. Taylor), marked places on the St. George's River and prepared a printed folder for the guests of the



CROSS ON ALLEN'S ISLAND

day giving interesting information concerning these places. A marker was provided by the Thomaston committee for old Fort St. George, also a flag, but the people of St. George placed the marker in position, raised the flag on a flagstaff, fired salutes, and were represented by men in pioneer costume. Mr. W. S. White, general manager of the Booth Bros. & Hurricane Island Granite Company, gave the granite cross which was set up on Allen's Island. The cross was cut at the company's quarry at Long Cove, St. George, and was transported to Allen's Island, and set up by Albert J. Rawley, W. E. Sherer, Ernest Rawley, John Matthews, Edward Fuller and Charles Watts. In all possible ways the people of St. George cooperated with the people of Thomaston in order to make the celebration successful.

The morning of the celebration was not altogether auspicious. It had rained a little during the night, and a heavy fog in the earlier hours of the morning enshrouded the town as indeed it had since the afternoon of the preceding day; but as the morning hours passed the fog gradually lifted and at length the sun broke through the thick masses, though for the most part during the day it was enough in evidence to shield from the sun's rays those participating in the various exercises.

The revenue cutter Woodbury, kindly placed at the disposal of the Maine Historical Society by the government, came from Portland on the preceding day, and was at the wharf in Thomaston, gaily decked in holiday dress. As early as nine o'clock Capt. West

and the other officers of the Woodbury were ready to welcome the members of the Society and their guests, including the speakers of the day, naval officers, prominent citizens of Thomaston and Rockland, also members of the Gen. Knox Chapter, D. A. R. At 9.45 the Woodbury left the wharf and steamed down the river, the Camden Concert Band furnishing music for the excursion. The steamers Castine, Bristol and W. G. Butman, all carrying excursionists, and all with the Woodbury bound for St. George's Harbor, followed, the river presenting an animated scene.

Here and there, on either side of the river, were groups of interested spectators; and cheers and salutes welcomed the excursionists as they proceeded on their way. Attention was called to the various points of historic interest, and to the marked features of the river corresponding with Rosier's enthusiastic narrative of Waymouth's discovery of the river.

At the mouth of the river the U. S. monitor Arkansas was in waiting, having been detailed for service in connection with the celebration by the Navy Department, and accompanied the Woodbury and the excursion steamers to St. George's Harbor, where all the vessels arrived about 11.30 A. M. Many smaller craft were also in the harbor, and were moving here and there loaded with excursionists. Many visitors from the Woodbury and other steamers landed upon Allen's Island in order to participate in the services connected with the unveiling of the granite memorial cross, commemorating the cross erected by Waymouth on that island, or on one of the

Revenue Cutter Woodbury in St. George's Harbor

July 6, 1905

adjoining islands. Hon. Franklin L. Trussell, of Port Clyde, presided. In a brief address he said that the celebration on that island was in commemoration of a bold and intrepid navigator, Capt. George Waymouth, who, according to authentic records, landed on or near that spot in 1605, and erected a cross as a token of English possession. Such events, he said, were milestones in the history of the country, and should be remembered by appropriate celebrations. Prayer was then offered by Rev. C. E. Gould, of Martinsville. Mr. George Arthur Smith, of Tenant's Harbor, then delivered the following address:

There is a famous metaphysician of my acquaintance, the characteristic of whose philosophy it is that in search of its goal it first hunts in every nook and cranny of the philosophical world where its goal is not, and then finally, after saying "Not here, not here," it suddenly turns with manifest triumph to the right spot, and shouts "Eureka!" And its logic is all the more convincing because of the method employed.

May I be permitted to apply the analogy to our friends of the Maine Historical Society? For nearly three hundred years the controversy over Pentecost Harbor has included all the coast of Maine from Boothbay to the noble Penobscot; and now, thanks to the efforts of your honorable society, we can at last say, "I have found it." And the result now seems so perfectly obvious that we are still wondering why we have so long remained in ignorance of the birthright of our town. Hence it is with very great pleasure that we of St. George welcome you here to this little island to help us commemorate the discovery of our ancestry, and to rejoice with us at our entrance into our inheritance.

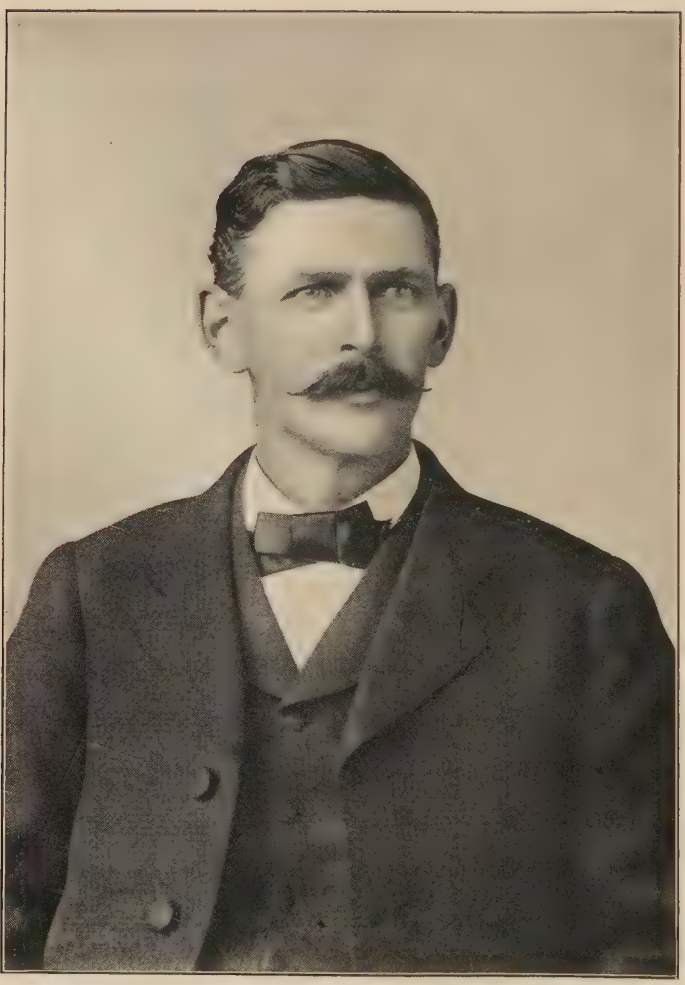
On a summer's day, three centuries ago, a hardy British captain and his little band of twenty-eight, after a difficult and perilous voyage across the then practically unknown seas, erected a cross on one of these islands in commemoration of the fact that

this region which now bears his name and that of England's patron saint, had been discovered and claimed by a citizen of a Christian nation — Great Britain, and by him dedicated to the service of a Christian sovereign.

The voyages at this period were made not with the motives that prompted those brave hearts that later set foot on Plymouth Rock, the desire of freedom to worship God after their own fashion; rather were they made in a spirit of adventure, partly from a desire to find a route to Africa or the Orient, and partly to win new dominions for England.

Such voyages, as a rule, lacked the permanent significance of the later ones, but this expedition of Captain Waymouth in 1605 was of immense historical importance; for as a result of his discoveries, two years later, in 1607, the "little Popham Colony of one hundred and twenty souls debarked on the peninsula of Sagadahoc, and with ceremonies of prayer and sermon dedicated the spot to civilization, and themselves to God's service," and inaugurated their government.

Although this colony was broken up during the summer of 1608, and all its members who survived the hardships of the winter returned to England, a beginning of colonization efforts had been made. Not many years followed before other settlers were upon the coast. The growth of the settlements was slow, but in the lapse of time those little communities increased in number and have now become an integral part of the mighty nation of 80,000,000! Their early growth, however, was not unattended by dangers and perils, and had it not been for the fostering care of the country which first gave our nation its birth, the destruction that more than once impended would have become an actuality. For her later mistakes, and for misunderstanding the real spirit and interests of her greatest colony, Great Britain amply atoned, and yet, although we who are so proud of our country's progress, prosperity and world position to-day, naturally hesitate to acknowledge dependence upon any other nation, we cannot forget the debt the New England owes to the old. Her high ideals, we as children of the same Anglo-Saxon parentage, have inherited; her language and her literature and her body of common law are as well our own. Profiting by her example more than by that of any other nation, we have grown



HON. FRANKLIN L. TRUSSELL

by adopting the good in her life, by patterning after her successes, and by avoiding as best we could her mistakes. And yet we have nevertheless achieved our growth in our own way, and have given to the world an example and a pattern of a land in which the people as rulers have reigned as wisely and justly as the sovereigns "who can do no wrong."

A century and a quarter ago, when under the guidance of him whom this country rightly calls its father, these colonies became the United States of America, and selected their own form of government, the watchword of our international policy was, as you all know, "Friendship toward all, entangling alliances with none." It was felt, and justly so, that our safety would be best conserved, our internal welfare and progress best aided by attending strictly and carefully to our own affairs. And so, for over a century we have kept as completely as possible out of foreign complications. By our steady, consistent policy, we have acquired a reputation as a nation for sincerity, firmness and fairness in all our international dealings, such as is surpassed by that of no other power large or small, and of this reputation we may justly be proud.

But man proposes. The disposal of human events is in its ultimate analysis in higher hands than ours. Do not mistake me as unreservedly sanctioning the logic of those who use the convenient plea of manifest destiny as a gild wherewith to gloss over other and baser reasons for certain unknown courses of action. The philosophy of determinism and foreordination has yet to demonstrate its right to existence as the guiding principle of the life either of the individual or of the nation. What I do mean is that we have attained our present influence for peace in the family of nations because we have adopted as the guiding principle of our policy the belief that there is an absolute final right or wrong for a nation as well as for an individual,— because our statesmen have in the main believed with our private citizen that truth will not forever remain on the scaffold, nor wrong forever triumph. Let me repeat, our policy as a nation may have been sometimes misguided,— omniscience has not yet become one of humanity's attributes,— but it has for the greater part been a sincere one. Who can deny that it was our reputation as one of the greatest, if not indeed the greatest, peace powers on earth

that brought success to the efforts of our executive in the recent negotiations for a peace conference.

We have become a world power by keeping out of world politics. Secure in our position as the greatest nation in the Western Hemisphere, we have devoted our attention to our own growth and prosperity. Realizing that a nation disunited and discordant at home must be powerless abroad, we have sought internal unity and harmony. The search was by no means a simple or easy one, and was not accomplished without the greatest civil contest the world has ever known. Bitter as the struggle was, can we who look back upon it to-day say that it was not necessary to settle the crisis which compromises, however skilfully planned, had only served to postpone, and hence accentuate? Those memorable issues, fortunately, are past. We have long ago forgiven our brethren of the South for their mistake, and we know they have forgiven us for our folly in imposing upon them deconstruction under the mistaken idea that we were giving them reconstruction. Mutual forgiveness, and our realization of the need of it, has made us more careful of each other's interests than we ever were before. Never again shall our country be rent by sectional differences, for never again will we allow it to be said that we of the North and of the South do not understand each other. The different sections are rapidly being drawn together into common bonds of fellowship and unity by that magic link, community of interests. The South is no longer merely an agricultural community. In the land where only a few years ago were mainly woods and fields, are now mines and mills, foundries and factories, the latter rivalling, nay, sometimes surpassing, those of our own New England, the home of the loom and spindle. As a consequence, the flood of immigration is no longer content with deluging our Northern shores alone, but the South is also claiming her share, and thus has begun to contribute her portion of the leaven needed to transform the fiery descendants of Stanislaus or of the Cæsars into sturdy, intelligent American citizens.

And so we can say that out of the turmoil of this last century of the three which have elapsed since this little harbor of Pentecost offered her friendly shelter to the first British ship, we can say that into our national life have come wealth, power and unity, and above all the honor that appertains only to a nation

MR. ARTHUR GEORGE SMITH

whose diplomacy the other powers have learned both to respect and to trust.

Now just a word of the future. This year marks not only the anniversary we are here primarily to celebrate, but connotes also what may be a crisis in our national life. A few years ago our martyred President aroused us to a realization of the fact that our policy of ideal exclusiveness must to some extent be abandoned. This policy of splendid isolation has in the years that are past been our salvation. But within the last few years, conditions have, to some extent at least, materially altered. In the words of a recent editorial, "We are closer in touch with the edge of European interests than ever before as the result of our national expansion. We have possessions in far distant seas where ten years ago no American thought he would ever set the Stars and Stripes floating over the territory of the United States. We are not far from Hong Kong nor the German and French possessions in the far East." And now comes the message from the old England to the New; given only a few days ago by England's premier. To our newly appointed ambassador he said: "Immemorial traditions have indicated the desire of the United States to keep themselves as little entangled as may be with the complex political relations of the older world on this side of the Atlantic. I doubt whether in its absolute and extreme purity that doctrine is likely to be permanently maintained. So great a nation as the United States, owing so much and giving so much to the civilization of old Europe, sharing its learning and advancing its science, can hardly expect to be able to share all these things and yet take no part whatever in the political life which is an inseparable element of them. It is almost as inconceivable that the United States should remain in that ideal isolation, as that some vast planet suddenly introduced into the system should not have its perturbing influence on other planets."

Briefly, this message means that the time has come for this nation to abandon her policy of isolation, and to take her share in the politics of the world, and thus accept our rightful responsibilities in the family of nations. The eternal significance of such a call from such a source is evident. Two paths are now presented to us where once was only one. It is not for me to

discuss their relative merits. I have only this to say: whichever one we choose, our ultimate safety as a nation consists in our faithful adherence to those old ideals of national life and national conduct which have heretofore been our guidance.

It may be that we shall see fit still to continue along the path our fathers have blazed out for us; or it may be that heeding the call that comes from England's statesman, we shall feel it our duty to go forth with the nation that is above all others nearest to us in heritage and sympathies, to take a more active and possibly militant part in world affairs. In either case, I repeat, let it be our prayer and our endeavor that our leaders, following the right as God gives them to see the right, will keep our country's policy true to those ideals of conduct which have made her what she is to-day, the ideals for which stands this stone we here unveiled to-day, for which the cross has ever stood, not for theology and dogma alone,— our nation was founded in part as a protest against that,— but the rational ideals of justice, honor and truth, friendship and sincerity. Such weapons as these, far more surely than armies and navies, will make this nation what Sir William Mather, a prominent English leader, has already termed it, the moral leader of the world, able in the future, even more than we have been in the past, to urge what we present on grounds of moral rather than physical force.

Before the opening of these exercises, a dozen men, representing Capt. George Waymouth and some of his crew, together with three Indians, had landed on Allen's Island and were grouped around the unveiled cross. Capt. Waymouth was represented by Dr. W. J. Jameson of Thomaston. "Waymouth's crew" was made up as follows: First officer, C. M. Walker; second officer, Levi Seavey; powder boy, Harold Jameson; sailors, C. J. Freeman, Dr. J. S. Norton, R. L. Thompson, C. H. Cushing, W. F. Tibbetts and Lewis Seavey. The "Indians" were I. G. Young, Henry Beverage and Ralph Harrington. At the close

Dedication of the Cross at St. George's Harbor

of Mr. Smith's address, Capt. Waymouth removed the stars and stripes that concealed the granite cross, revealing the simple inscription, "Waymouth; 1605–1905." A pre-arranged signal on a near-by flagstaff announced the unveiling, and the Arkansas opening her guns, at once thundered forth a national salute. At the close of the salute, Hon. J. E. Moore lowered the flag on the flagstaff, and a large burgee, bearing the inscription, "Pentecost Harbor," took its place. Both the flag and burgee were presented by Mrs. William R. Grace, of New York, a native of St. George.

At the conclusion of the unveiling exercises on Allen's Island, the visitors from the Woodbury returned to the cutter, where an elegant lunch was served by the ladies of the Gen. Knox Chapter, D. A. R. The committee in charge of the lunch was made up as follows: Mrs. C. A. Creighton, Mrs. Richard Dunn and Mrs. H. R. Linnell.

At the close of the lunch, the Woodbury raised her anchor, and with the Arkansas, and a large fleet of smaller craft, sailed up to the mouth of the St. George's River and then entered the river itself. The tide was now nearly at full height, and the scene was one of very great interest as well as of rare loveliness on either side of the river, while in front, up in the main, were the mountains mentioned by Rosier as seen by Waymouth as he passed up the river three hundred years before. In the company there was no more interested spectator than Capt. George Prince, now in his eighty-eighth year, who nearly half a

century ago was the first to call attention to the claims of the St. George's River as the river of Waymouth's discovery. This delightful return to Thomaston was marked by frequent salutes fired by interested parties at different points. The Arkansas ascended the river as far as Fort St. George and then anchored.

At Thomaston, as the guests were leaving the Woodbury, a salute was fired by the cutter in honor of Governor Cobb. A procession was then formed consisting of Waymouth's crew, the Indians, and about one hundred and twenty-five school children, with the Camden Concert Band at the head. At the mall about two thousand people assembled to witness the exercises connected with the unveiling of the memorial erected by the town.

Hon. Joseph E. Moore presided. The invocation was by Rev. W. A. Newcombe, D.D., of Thomaston. Mr. Moore then delivered the following address of welcome:

We are gratified that we are enabled to join with you, the members of the Maine Historical Society, in celebrating on your annual field day an event as important as that which gives name to this celebration. We greet you and the guests from other societies with pleasure, and welcome your coming.

The object of a historical society is to establish truth and make perpetual a record of it; not truth in the abstract, as scientific or religious, but facts of history which show the progress of individuals and nations, their rise and fall. You are impartial. Because you find some things that you wish were different, you do not conceal them; but each is chronicled according to the truth. Preconceived notions of any act or event bear no part in the search. Your object is to enlighten mankind, and mark the footsteps of those who have gone before.

Waymouth and His Company

As Represented at Allen's Island, July 6, 1905

In this commercial age, this age of greed, even in these days of strenuous action, how pleasant to realize that there are men with other purposes, who can throw those all aside, and devote a time at least to the study and search that enlarge the information of the world, without a show of gain, but rather a financial loss; — as lovers of the useful, and the perpetuation of the events that show the world's progress, the life that those behind us lived, and the causes that result in the present conditions. Your labor is unselfish. You chronicle the achievements of others and not those of yourselves. Your reward lies not in your own glorification, but in bringing to light and perpetuating the marked deeds of others, their successes, their defeats, and the results.

In the material world the great whole is made up of combined particles. So in history. While it is not the single event that we study, alone, however important, but the series, when we would learn the world's history; still, each event must be noted, and accurately, to be sure that the whole is right. Therefore the value of determining and preserving local history is not to be belittled. Your society may be limited in the place of your active research to Maine, but the result goes far beyond her borders.

The event we celebrate to-day bears no small part in American history. It has been the subject of much controversy. Its importance has been recognized and, like everything great and valuable, claimants for the honor of its location have been many. When Waymouth planted the English cross at the mouth of this river, and up in the main where it "trended westward," he announced that this was Virginia, and none were so bold as to question it. This is but one event, but with others it becomes an important one. You have searched history and fixed this one, and thus made accurate what has been uncertain. You prove your impartiality in this,— that when shown the facts by a resident of Thomaston, you investigate, and, though counter to earlier history, you recognize the truth and emblazon it.

Three hundred years ago on a summer's day, perhaps like this, that doughty English captain, George Waymouth, came in his small vessel to these shores, and later sailed up this river to plant the cross of St. George and claim for England the right to

this goodly land. He was not welcomed by bands of music and gladsome English song, but vast forests were spread before him, and all nature gave him welcome; the strong oak and whispering pine welcomed him to give improvement and advancement; the birds that nested in the trees welcomed him with joyous songs; and the infant of that power which filled his sails and brought him to these shores,— the morning and evening zephyrs, blowing through the grasses and over the rippling waters,— welcomed him.

Your welcome is as hearty. Streets and houses and the voice you know are in place of the great forests. Our broad avenues and shaded streets welcome you; our giant elms will give you welcome shade; our hearts and homes give you thrice welcome. We give into your hands the keys that open every gate and every door, in assurance of the fullness of our hospitality and its joyful bestowal. Do not hesitate to test its strength, or try to find its bounds, for we mean that both shall be unlimited.

Hon. James P. Baxter, President of the Maine Historical Society, responded for the Society in a brief, but hearty acknowledgement of the greeting so generously extended.

Hon. William T. Cobb, Governor of Maine, who had accompanied the excursionists to St. George's Harbor on the Woodbury, followed with an eloquent address:

We are here to-day not to make history, but to refer to its local beginnings, and to commemorate by appropriate observances an event of historical importance to the State, and of peculiar interest to this beautiful town.

It has been established, substantially beyond controversy, that on a certain morning in the early summer of 1605, George Waymouth, an Englishman and commanding an English ship, while on a voyage of discovery to the New World, sailed up this river and landing at the harbor's head was the first known white man to set foot upon these shores.

HON. JOSEPH E. MOORE

His stay was brief, and not until many years afterward did court or history take more than careless notice of this far away possession. But obscure and distant as it was, Waymouth was its discoverer and by this act linked his name for all time with the beginnings of Maine.

On that June day when Waymouth left his anchorage on the coast, and proceeded cautiously up the river, past shores absolutely unknown to any man of his race, England was already a great and powerful nation. She was great not only in arms, but in intellect, for those were the days of Shakespeare and the Elizabethan era. But America was a wilderness, its inhabitants savage aborigines and our country yet unborn. Three hundred years have passed since that day. Our national government is not one-half that old, our State not one-third, and into the last fifty years we have crowded the best of our achievements for material development, for civilization and for humanity. In contemplating the changes between Waymouth's day and our own we may well exclaim — "What hath God wrought!"

The romance and sentiment attaching to occurrences like Waymouth's voyage have not yet appealed to our people with sufficient force to compel general recognition in the form of monument or tablet. The stress attending the upbuilding of a country has allowed scant time for that, and minor events, however far reaching in historical importance, have possessed interest for the student of history alone. But with an awakened impulse to know more of our early days there has developed a better conception of the value of historical knowledge, and this is finding expression in acts of commemoration like those we perform to-day.

It is well that this is true, and fortunate indeed for the advancement of learning and of patriotism that the sentiments of local pride, aroused by the dedication of tablets like this one, find a ready and generous response in the hearts and minds of the citizens of our State. The town of Thomaston is rich in historic associations and replete with the memory of men who gave strength and counsel to State and nation. These citizens, many of them, are students and lovers of her past, and with a fine public spirit she has caused to be perpetuated here in enduring bronze the memory of Waymouth's voyage and landing on this

coast. By this appreciative acknowledgment of the claims of history, Thomaston has furnished an example that all other towns in Maine may well emulate, and has earned the gratitude of the State.

At the close of Governor Cobb's address, the memorial tablet was unveiled by Miss Ruth Flint Linnell, daughter of Mr. R. H. Linnell of Thomaston, who had an important part in the task of transferring to the mall the giant boulder to which the tablet was affixed. The tablet bears the following inscription:

To Commemorate the Voyage of
Captain
George Waymouth
to the Coast of Maine
in 1605
His Discovery and Exploration of the
St. George's River
And Planting a Cross on the
Northerly Shore of this Harbor
Where the River "Trended Westward"
The Earliest Known Claim of
Right of Possession by Englishmen
On New England Soil
This Tablet is Erected by the
Town of Thomaston
1905

Mr. J. B. Keating, British Vice Consul at Portland, was then introduced and delivered the following address:

To-day in a most charming manner you have commemorated the landing on these shores of British seamen under the command of Captain Waymouth. To these pioneers of Christianity and their kinsmen who come after them the world owes a great deal; for, after all, who can gainsay the fact that it was Britishers, led by a Britisher, who so effectively cleaned house for you

Memorial Boulder and Tablet at Thomaston

and who adopted the constitution which has won the admiration of the whole world.

Great Britain certainly owes to her former subjects a great debt of gratitude for having taught her how to govern her colonies and thereby to successfully hold together an empire having a population equal to one-fourth of the inhabitants of the globe, dwelling within an area of nearly twelve million square miles, and of whom none are more loyal than her sturdy sons and daughters, your immediate neighbors in Canada — separated from you only by an imaginary line and huge tariff wall.

As Britishers we love our flag, to us the emblem of Christianity, civilization and freedom in the highest degree; and Americans have a keen regard for the British flag because it was once theirs and stands firmly for unity with them. We Britishers honor and revere the Stars and Stripes. We take a keen delight in the progress made under your beautiful banner and we universally regard it as emblematical of liberty, progressiveness in arts and sciences, as well as being the flag of our brothers.

No man can reasonably expect that in this vast country the traditions of the past can entirely govern the future of the United States, or yet keep the country purely Anglo-Saxon, but each celebration such as we have witnessed this day will ever keep verdant the knowledge that it was your and my countrymen who laid the foundation stone for the upbuilding of this vast nation and may we not hope that the Stars and Stripes of America and the Union Jack of old England shall ever float side by side and together advance in the civilization of the world, thereby securing everlasting peace.

During my stay in Maine, now rounding ten years, it has been my constant aim to take advantage of every opportunity arising to draw your and my countrymen into closer acquaintance and friendship. The jubilee of our late Queen served as an excuse to bring into your waters a British man-of-war, after an absence therefrom of over twenty-five years. The next year, while your sons were encamped in the South and your country at war, one of Canada's representative regiments came into your State under arms to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of commerce to you with Canada by the Grand Trunk Railway, and incidentally to help you celebrate the Fourth of July and the

victory of the American fleet at Santiago. Since then a British fleet has twice been in your waters and this year nearly seven hundred soldiers were guests of your militia in Portland. These events and the visit of the Portland Naval Reserves to Canada last year, with the harmonious blending of the redcoats and the bluejackets, with the sight of the flags of the two greatest nations in the world floating so frequently side by side, has done much to draw more closely together our two countries.

And now may I add that there is still more to be accomplished to complete the family reunion? I mean, of course, closer trade relationship. This question, I know, is receiving the constant attention of the statesmen of both countries. Maine has in the past been a great factor in legislation for the good of the whole. Can we not therefore hope that your representatives, who so efficiently fill the place of them that have gone before them, may yet find a way to bring the people of New England into a closer trade relationship with my countrymen to the north of you.

Mr. Moore then introduced Maj.-Gen. Joshua L. Chamberlain, who spoke as follows:

We have come here to celebrate, not a victory, nor a veritable beginning, but a passing incident, a visit; purposed, however, and well ordered, and taking significance from being closely linked with the movements which resulted in the English domination of these North Atlantic shores. Linked,— implying a connection, but not a cause; for no man can assign the cause of anything whatever that has happened in human history. We may know of conditions precedent, and *sine qua non*,— without which a thing could not have come to pass; but causes lie deep, germinated in the spiritual essence of things, both physical and psychical.

What we note here is the fact of Waymouth's visit, in a ship auspiciously named the Archangel, and kept in character by due observance of religious exercises on board, with high ends in view which prompted the kidnapping of some best specimens of the inhabitants for exhibition at home in verification of his reports, or proof of the capabilities of this virgin soil; claiming warrant, perhaps with religious consistency, by the Old

HON. JOHN B. KEATING

British Vice Consul at Portland

Testament tactics of the visit of the spies to the promised land beyond Jordan with instructions to bring back the best of whatever they could lay their hands on. This last is an important item; it supplies the link which connects this visit with immense results. For these good specimen products of the new country being consigned to some of the keen forecasters in England, woke a vital interest in the discoveries she had practically ignored for a century. We have the testimony of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the chief promoters of Waymouth's voyage, to whom the study and instruction of these unwilling guests were committed, that "this accident," he called it, "was the acknowledged means under God, of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations."

And these plantations were the forerunners, if not the immediate agencies, of a force whereby the English overcame the French, claiming by as good a title and holding by a prior and better occupancy. Fortunate Nahánada, Amoret, Skidwároes,— simple savages, helpless captives, but made vehicles of a divine communication fraught with the destinies of nations! Fortunate Waymouth,— the craft of man made part of the work of God! These it was then,— Waymouth's unwitting witnesses,— who woke the first whisper of that deep decree whereby New France should become New England, and passing the barriers of dissociating mountains, and owning only the mighty waters for boundaries, this land of ours should be held of neither crown, but by a nation to be born,— the people of these United States.

Thoughts come to us here: what was the force which effected this dispossession; what was its justification; what is, and is to be, the outcome. The whole case will be set before us to-day with skilful elaboration by chosen orators. For me, but few words.

And first, this was a matter of race. But what is race? It is something of blood. By that we mean certain specific tendencies, vital, spiritual, persistent. And in whatever intermingling, whether through innate affinities or outward inducements, a certain positive tendency will dominate, and will mark the resultant character.

Difference of race is an obvious fact, however accounted for. The Roman is different from the Greek; the Turk from the

Arab; the Hungarian from the German; the Irish from the English; the Japanese from the Russian. It is obvious also that physical surroundings do not determine these differences, for we find the physical conditions not so widely varied in these cases, — and the local situation, almost the same. Race differences are marked in the several provinces of one so-called nation,— as in France and Spain.

There is a current saying that man is the creature of his environment. That may be true of some; but a man so made is a poor kind of a man. No doubt all are affected more or less by environment; but the final character is determined by innate forces and susceptibilities. When we speak of environment, bear in mind that there are two kinds of it,— one, the obvious physical surroundings; the other, the atmosphere and contact of invisible spiritual influences. The inborn nature of man makes the selection, and determines the outcome. If this nature is dull, or indolent, or simply receptive, outward influences may prevail. But men and races that are foremost make themselves so by inborn force.

Physical geography in simple times had large effect on human character. Work and thoughts and habits of life must be so directed. But soon some aspiring mind begins to master outward conditions. The Dutch first made land where there was sea; now they are making sea where there is land. Physical features may some time determine the boundaries of nations. But sooner or later some force of men will change these landmarks. All history shows this. The structure and climate of a continent is in some sort a prophecy of its destiny. But this is made true only in the long run, when commingling and combinations of men have brought out the best traits in each type of manhood, and revealed the treasures of nature to be turned to human good. The Nile once made Egypt; now England makes the Nile. Aforetime men stood in awe of it; human life was its servant. Now the great barrage at the Assouan cataract, controlling the mighty waters, creates new seasons for human toil and puts the mastery in the hands of man. So English energy makes new environment, which in turn will serve to transform Egyptian character, and make a new Egypt. But it is man that has done it, —meaning by that blood and brain, observing the

work of God, reading in opportunity His purpose, and following His thought.

Now appears that other kind of environment,— the influences which we must call spiritual, having strangely no word in our language as yet exactly answering the conception and fact of an energy not embodied, but inspiring and governing human action. What we call the influence of mind upon mind is a marvellous power,— whether direct, in personal intercourse, or in wider circuits through social enlargement, or as representative in works of the spirit, as in eloquence, poetry, music, painting, sculpture, expressive fabrics of architecture, and mighty works of engineering. In such things thought lives, the vanished speaks. We are told that there are some mysterious laws in chemistry, whereby the susceptibility of certain elements ready to combine is so affected by the mere presence of some other element not itself commingling, as almost to control their behavior. That law of influence is a mighty one in all the worlds to which we belong.

We believe people are deeply influenced by their religion; their view of spiritual belongings. But to a great degree people influence any given religion by their personal temperaments. Christianity exhibits various phases in the Nestorian, the Coptic, the Greek and the Roman churches. And our modern Protestantism is sharply differentiated by Lutheran, Calvinist, Anglican, Puritan, Presbyterian and Methodist. In a certain way, acting and reacting on each other, they make a whole.

There is a perpetuating influence in the prevailing public sentiment and social order of a community. We make much account of the assimilating power of our political and social institutions upon the people immigrating into our country. This may be a saving grace for us in the present inundations of foreign race and blood, the overflowings of all peoples. But we shall find great difference in the capacity and capability of different people as to this transformation.

Nothing in this world seems fixed, one and the same for all. Human freedom makes certain things very uncertain. A gift depends on how we take it; environment and opportunity are what we make them. In this mass and mesh of things around us, some innate force allied, at least, to the spiritual, determines

destinies. It is so that race characteristics are wrought out, people by people, age after age.

But peculiar and prominent as these are, a pure race we scarcely find. Earliest history shows each race already of mixed blood, though differing decidedly each from each. This comes from certain strains of preponderant force, or readiness of combining power. Some we see almost repellant of combination. Look at the American Indian; stubborn in his characteristics. You can kill him, but you can't kill these out of him. Indeed it is these very characteristics that are killing him out. As a rule the mixed races are the ablest, physically and mentally. But it is not true that all mixed races are superior. It depends on what there was to mix. There is some intricate law about it. Mixture of elements within certain generic lines, but not too near specifically, produces increase of strength; taken from too near or too far,— deterioration and sterility. But true mixture is a harmony, working out all the variations of its persistent theme.

Here to-day we contemplate the beginning of the struggle of France and England for the domination of this continent. Which should win? He to whom it was given,— not by circumstance but by capability; not by force of quantity, but of quality. Two races in their main root almost identical; of the Viking blood, fierce in fight, deeply and richly mixed, the persistent vital energy ever readjusting its composite elements, giving to each a polarity of its own. The old Northmen conquered Normandy, planting their name in France, but taking the language and law of previous conquerors, the Roman, because these served their mastery; and these hold to this day. Their descendents, the Normans, conquered England, but took on the language of the conquered,— the deep-rooted mother tongue,— and also their laws, wrought out on the north shores of the Rhine and Scandinavian seas. These also to abide,— language and law;— and are mainly ours, here and now. Two peoples not so far apart in the dominating element of their origin, following the lines of different stimulus and impulse, developing characters peculiar and clearly marked. One fertile of ideas and quick of hand; the other slow of thought but stout of heart; one daring in overture, spirited in action; the other slowly resolving, but

resolute unto the end. So are they unto this day. One ever prompt, adroit, chivalrous, projecting beginnings; the other calmy observant, gathering force, biding time, effecting consummations. One leading the civilization of Europe, the other belting the globe! So the vision of to-day: the French overture here brilliant as the sky; the English consummation solid as the earth. And we who behold, proclaim it as a triumph of our race; but do not forget that there have passed into it other heroic and not lost beginnings.

Now for the right of it. By what right did England win? By right of some "higher law" declaring itself in mysterious ways as of better worth than right of possession. By authority of some overmastering force in human history, making the best of each the benefit of all, turning failure of one to profit of another, even overruling evil for final good. Justifications are on a great scale and far away, where all find their belongings. England entered where France had opened; took what she had made ready. So have I seen the osprey and the eagle; one with flashing wing dashing between sky and sea to snatch her prey; the other watching from some calm rock, then rushing to grasp the booty borne by the taker in mid air. This is natural law. This right through greater need or better use is admitted in the practice, and therefore is the law, of progress. True, this may also be the plea of the highwayman; but the natural law of society seems not the same as the moral law for the individual. Some races are better able to bring out the goods and uses of nature than others, and thus advance their own excellence. Soon or late, they take the precedence. And the acquiescence of others makes good the title. Is it not so? By what other right are we from the Old World holding this New World once belonging to a simpler race? And by what other right are the nations of Christendom doing many things disliked but approved by all? Is not the survival of the fittest the right of the strongest? And is not this the law of nature by which the world goes on, whether we will or no? And is not this of that great branch of the human law known as the customary?

Now, what is the outcome? Evidently it is not complete as yet. A phase of it is passing. We now on these long-coveted shores, descendants or successors of great actors here, have no

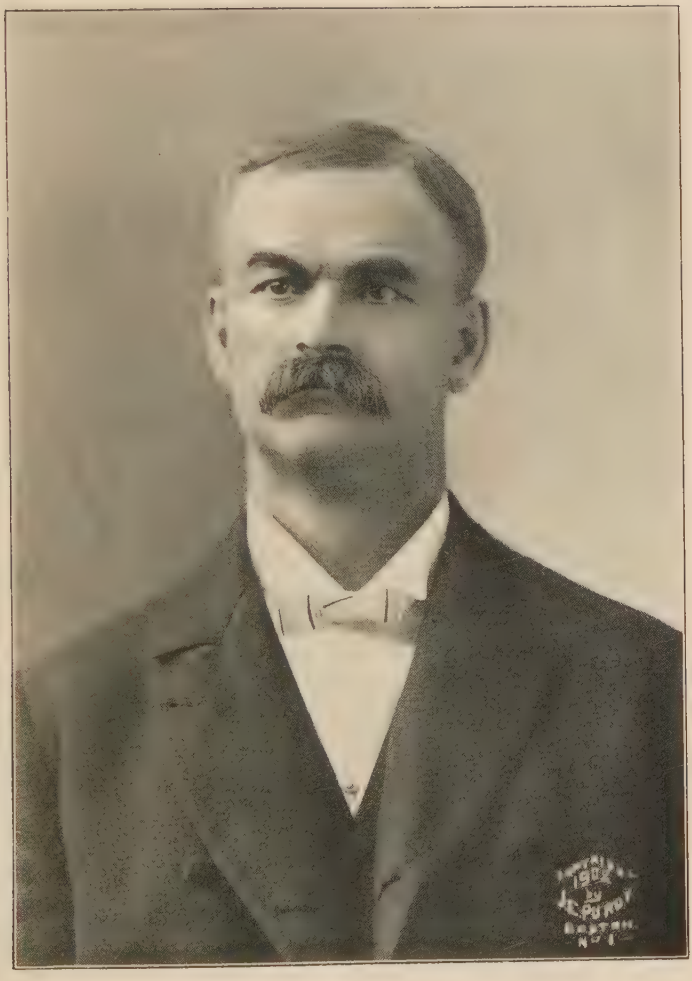
reason to regret accidents or issues of early history, nor to be ashamed of the character since wrought out, or of the work done for the world. In some of us is blood mingled of both great races battling here, but we are not sorry to be named of the race that if not first but latest in beginnings, is on the foremost front of the world's advance.

Three centuries have passed. Some climax has been reached. For here we see now the tide of ancient blood on the ebb. Our new generations are sending forth their boldest to meet the demand for energy on other shores, and to make history in turn. Peoples are taking their place whom we may deem not the equals of the outgoers. But who shall presume to judge the reasons of God's ways, or to know the rule of mixture in His chemistry? Some incomers are closely allied to us in blood, and readily enter into our aspirations and ideas. Others, though of blood wider and farther mixed, come gladly to us, and into our citizenship. At least they are taking up what goods of nature the outgoers have left not fairly tested. Is not this a certain progress?

A passing glance shows present movement, but not its meaning, nor the full tendency of things. In the great tides, currents are running many ways. The inward and outward set goes ever on by periods elsewhere determined. But there is a trend we cannot see; an ever increasing worth, to which our best work belongs.

What we may be sure of is our duty to hold fast the faith and practice out of which the sterling character of our fathers was evolved; to reverence those things which have enabled us to take part in the betterment of human conditions, the clearer recognition of the worth of manhood,— and if perchance it be held as some higher thing,— of womanhood. It is ours to cherish the principles and institutions which have secured for us light and liberty, and so hold them that all incomers shall enjoy these blessings and also be able to appreciate them and perpetuate them.

Prophecies are written both in the face of nature, and in the heart of man. Good has been wrought here, but most of good is yet to come,— to come to be. And in such times, when deeper knowledge of man and nature shall disclose deeper things of



HON. CHARLES E. LITTLEFIELD

BY PERMISSION OF
J. E. PURDY

good, then may emerge a new composite life in which shall hold part our history and our hope. Perhaps even the physical features now forming boundaries of nationalities and of enterprise may take on truer meaning, and the shores of this great gulf named now of Maine, on whose outer edge the Gulf Stream and Arctic currents meet, are potent yet of God's deep purpose; and the peoples behind, seeing the vast reach of opportunity and the unity of their interests, will make of this stored and storied sea-front a vantage ground not only for exchange of their products but for the interchange of all best gifts and winnings for the world.

The closing address was by Hon. Charles E. Littlefield of Rockland.

Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Maine Historical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen: Inasmuch as the exercises upon this occasion are to close with what I may add, I can safely say that up to the present moment the Society is to be congratulated upon the successful manner in which the entire program has been carried out. Everything from the illustrated landing of Waymouth and his men to the various addresses which have been delivered has been fit and appropriate. I congratulate the Daughters of the American Revolution for the very happy manner in which their portion of the program involving the serving of the appetizing luncheon on the cutter has been rendered. They are to be especially complimented upon the attractive and beautiful committee which had the honor to represent them. It may safely be suggested that if that vigorous and redoubtable old pioneer, Capt. George Waymouth, had been met upon his landing upon these shores by such a committee, the attraction would have been so great that he could never have been induced to return to England. I congratulate the committee having this matter in charge upon the part of the citizens of Thomaston, and especially the distinguished chairman of the committee, Hon. J. E. Moore. The uninterrupted and gratifying success which he has witnessed to-day as a result of several weeks trying effort leaves him I take it in a vastly more gratifying frame of mind than he experienced yesterday.

I have learned that during the day, when he was embarrassed by some of the difficulties, disagreements, misunderstandings and uncomfortable features necessarily involved in the working out of such exercises, he was not imbued with the cheerful and optimistic expectations which, judging from the serene expression of his countenance to-day, he is now seeing realized. On the contrary, he is said to have remarked, with an intensity of expression perhaps incident to the occasion by way of intimating his regret that he ever assumed the responsibility of taking charge of the program, that he "wished to God Waymouth had sailed up the Kennebec." No doubt the marked transition between yesterday and to-day renders his enjoyment all the more gratifying. Finally, by way of congratulation, I will suggest that if the rain[1] which is threatening to fall every moment is suspended until the exercises are fully concluded, we may all congratulate ourselves upon the favorable auspices under which we are gathered.

It is not necessary for me to indulge in a lengthy speech on this occasion. A word should be said by way of emphasizing the especial significance of one of the prominent features of the exercises. A cross of eternal granite has been erected at Pentecost Harbor as near as may be at the place where Captain Waymouth, three hundred years ago, first planted his rude cross as the symbol of the occupation of this portion of the continent on behalf of his majesty, the king of England. The cross is a most significant symbol. It is the distinguishing feature of our Christian civilization. It declares the fact that our civilization recognizes and depends upon a personal God, who governs in the affairs of men and without whose aid in building they labor in vain who attempt to build. It does not represent any sect, or creed, or theology, but it stands in its breadth and catholicity as the great emblem of the Christian religion, of the civilization that is founded upon its precepts and has been in the process of steady, resistless development through infinite toil, struggle and endeavor ever since the beginning of the Christian era. This divine and sacred emblem, and that for which it stands, is the great differentiation between our civilization and all civilizations that preceded it and every other civilization that coexists with it. How appropriate is it then that this great essential and

[1]It proved to be only a heavy mist.

fundamental characteristic should be especially emphasized and recognized upon this memorial occasion.

Great Britain, in the course of her long and illustrious history, has accomplished many and great results in the achievement of liberty and the elevation and civilization of the race; but there is no single act ever performed by that mighty nation which involved consequences so vast and stupendous as the discovery and the dedication of this great continent to the English speaking people, the blessings of English liberty and a Christian civilization. So great has been our success in the development along parallel lines with our mother country that we are sometimes too likely to forget the length and the breadth of our indebtedness to her. According to the genius of her institutions and her form of government powers, and privileges, and rights of the people may in a sense be said to emanate from the government, the government being represented by the king. On the other hand, according to the genius of our institutions, all powers, rights and privileges, have their source in and derive their power from the people, and the government that we have is the creature of the people.

While our systems of government and our political institutions differ somewhat radically in form, in substance they are in a large degree the same. The petition of right, Magna Charta, and the habeas corpus act, for which the English people fought, bled and died, and to establish which, lives were lost and treasure expended with little regard to their number or value, are included in their essence, in many respects literally word for word, in the Constitution of the United States, and the bill of rights of every one of our forty-five States.

We speak the same language, we read the same literature, our people are secured by the same law and we have the same Christian religion. We think and speak and write in the same language in which Shakespeare thought and spoke and wrote. The grandest and most sublime expressions of the human emotions, aspirations and desires that can be found in any language are found in prodigal profusion in King James' version of the English Bible. The essential and fundamental principles of the common law, the security of the person and the inviolability of his property were well-settled and well-recognized principles

long before Waymouth made his adventurous voyage. They are as essential and as potent in England as in America to the conservation of every principle that makes a living truth of the declaration that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The right of every man to worship God under his own vine and fig-tree, according to the dictation of his own conscience, with no one to molest him or make him afraid, which was the inspiring cause that led the Pilgrims to brave the dangers of the ocean, and the unknown hazards of the primeval wilderness inhabited by the aboriginal savage, is equally the result in England and in America of the logical and inevitable development of the principles which underlie and are fundamental to the institutions and civilization of each of these great countries.

It is eminently fitting and proper that Consul Keating should be present upon this occasion as the representative of his Brittanic majesty, and I hazard nothing in saying that I express the universal sentiment of this magnificent audience when I say that we have listened with the greatest pleasure to his cordial and eloquent remarks. He has suggested that there might in the future be a closer union between the two great countries resulting from an alliance that might be entered into. The same idea was very effectively and ably presented by Mr. Smith who delivered the eloquent address at Allen's Island at the uncovering of the memorial cross.

It has been the immemorial practice of the republic to avoid entangling alliances of all kinds with foreign countries. This has been our attitude from the beginning. It was inculcated by Washington and has been reiterated from time to time by nearly all of his successors. It has become the warp and woof of our foreign policies. It would hardly be appropriate to discuss on this occasion its wisdom or unwisdom, and whether or not it might with advantage be now departed from. Whether by treaty engrossed upon scroll of parchment, authenticated by great seals and the signatures of great plenipotentiaries, these two great English speaking people may or may not formally bind themselves together for offensive or defensive purposes is not for us here to-day material. It may perhaps be, whether it is or

not I do not assert, but it may perhaps be, that these great international questions involving interests so vast and far reaching will after all be governed and controlled in the great movement of international development and progress by what General Chamberlain has beautifully referred to as the higher law: "There's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will." May it not well be in the summation of the results of the ages, that the English speaking people, separate and independent, yet at the same time heterogeneous and component parts of one great civilization have in the end a common destiny, the unity of a common and eternal purpose.

We believe that our form of government, and our conception of what is essential to civilization, is the highest form and conception yet discovered and made known to the sons of men. If we are correct in this belief, why is it not then true that the highest results throughout Christendom will not be attained until this civilization shall be all prevailing? Until that time shall come we cannot expect to see fully exemplified that saying of the Scriptures "that God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." It may well be then whether we will or no or whether we agree or no that the development of these two great branches of one great puissant people will necessarily be upon parallel lines in perfect sympathy and harmony with each other; that we shall work together because we are striving for the same end. So far as such expectations may become a realized fact just so much nearer will we approach the day when the principles of arbitration and universal peace, so effectively referred to by Consul Keating, shall become the ruling and controlling principles among all of the nations of the earth. As these ideals shall be attained as time unfolds the future, so shall the day dawn when, in the words of England's greatest poet laureate,

> "The war-drum throbs no longer, the battle flags were furl'd,
> In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world."

Music by the band and singing by the school children added to the interest of the occasion.

The benediction was by the Rev. E. M. Cousins of Thomaston.

Evening Exercises.

The evening exercises were held in Watts' Hall which was prettily decorated. Over the center of the proscenium was a red banner on which was the inscription — "300th Anniversary of Waymouth's Voyage 1605–1905." On either side were American and English flags. In the rear of the stage was a bank of green and across it in red, white and blue was the word — "Welcome." The front of the stage was draped in colored bunting, while the same material was festooned from overhead in the hall to the balconies, which were banked in green and festooned with bunting. Hon. Joseph E. Moore presided, and introduced Hon. James P. Baxter of Portland, who delivered the following address:

We have assembled to-day to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of George Waymouth upon these shores, one of the first achievements in a succession of enterprises which resulted in the English colonization of Maine, and which, with due regard to historical sequence, we may properly view as of immeasurable importance, not only to the people of Maine, but to the English speaking race, and I may add, to the civilized world, for history is a web of varied woof, whose glowing threads are directed by an unerring hand toward the accomplishment of a beneficent end, and though we may often but imperfectly discern the relations of parts in the splendid design, which is ever expanding beneath our eye, we may be sure that such relations exist and are not beyond human understanding. To deny this would be to install Chance in the seat of Providence.

I have said that this is one of the first in a succession of enterprises which resulted in the English colonization of Maine. I do not mean by this that the Maine coast had not been often visited before Waymouth's voyage of 1605. The Portuguese Corte-real

had visited it more than a hundred years before Waymouth, and Kohl thinks that the natives whom he captured for slaves were taken on or near the Penobscot. Be this as it may, the veil which conceals this region from view for more than a century after the discovery of North America by Cabot, is almost impenetrable. Cabot's discovery, when it became known to Europe, soon awakened the interest of adventurous spirits everywhere, especially in Spain, Portugal, France and England.

Let us consider briefly what were the conditions existing for some time succeeding Cabot's discovery. By the convention of Tordesillas, which was held May 4, 1493, just after the return of Columbus, at which a treaty was formed and amended thirteen months later, the whole undiscovered Western Hemisphere was assigned by the Pope to Spain and Portugal, the dividing line being three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape de Verde Islands. According to this partition, if it gave Spain any right at all, Maine and the entire continent to the South was preempted to her, and when in 1581, Portugal came under her sway, the rights, if there were any which belonged to that kingdom, passed to her, and these joint rights might be made to cover the continents of America with adjacent islands from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or South Sea, as it was popularly called after the southern portion of it had been discovered by Magelhaens from the Isthmus of Darien. It would seem that Spain regarded the treaty of Tordesillas as of great importance to her interests, certainly she affected to so regard it; yet, according to the law of nations, original discovery, conquest or purchase, alone constituted a valid title to lands. There was no question whatever among European nations that conquest extinguished the rights of the inhabitants of conquered territory, and conquest usually followed discovery; nor were rights confined to the exact limits of discovery. Discovery of a seacoast carried rights inland, how far depended upon future possession.

Cabot's discovery of the North American continent in the vicinity of Newfoundland, and his subsequent voyages along the coast, constituted England's claim to the North American continent. This claim was vigorously contested especially by France, who went so far as to base rights to territory, which she afterwards named New France, upon discoveries made in her interest.

These claims are set forth in a document in the Bureau of Marine and Colonies, Paris, which has not as yet been printed; though similar claims have been often put forth. In this document the writer bases priority of discovery and possession upon the voyage of Verrazano in 1524, and claims that he took possession of the continent for France from the thirty-third to the forty-seventh degree of latitude, or from Cape Romain, S. C., to the northernmost point of Cape Breton. He then proceeds to show continuous explorations and colonial enterprises in the voyages made by Cartier and Roberval from 1534 to 1542, of Alphonse in 1543, and of Ribaut and Ladonniere in Florida in 1562 and 1564, and brings in the futile enterprises of de la Roche in 1590, of de Chastes and Champlain in 1603, and the successful colonial undertakings of Champlain in 1604 and later. Of course the discoveries of Cabot as well as those of the Corte-reals and the colonial venture of Fagundes,[1] antedating the voyages of Verrazano, Cartier, and others named, are wholly ignored.

John Cabot, on the 24th of June, 1497, discovered the North American continent at a point which he named "*prima tierra vista*," or first land seen, and set up a cross at some point on the land he had discovered in token of possession, though, owing to the disappearance of the "Chart and Solid Globe" which he is said to have made, the exact spot is still in controversy, some contending that it was Bonavista on the eastern coast of Newfoundland; others on the coast of Labrador, and still others the eastern extremity of the island of Cape Breton, the legend mentioned, changed to "*terram primum visam*," appearing off this island on the so-called Cabot map, which purports to have been made by Sebastian Cabot, who accompanied his father on his first voyage. This, of course, must be considered strong evidence in favor of Cape Breton as Cabot's landfall.

Although Cabot's chart has disappeared, we have strong evidence that the great navigator sailed along the coast of North America on his second voyage in 1498, from the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude to a point as far south as Cape Henry. This evidence appears in the Spanish map of La Cosa, the pilot of Columbus, which was made in the year 1500. On this map no credit is given to Cabot, but English discoveries are recorded

[1] Vide "Découverte et Evolution Cartographique," etc. Harrisse, Vol. I, p. 25.

thereon, as Cavo de Englaterra, Cape England, and Cavo de Jorge, Cape George. As no European but Cabot had visited the coast prior to the making of this map, La Cosa must have been indebted to him for his material; but how, is the question. On July 25th, 1498, Ayala, the Spanish minister in London, wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella, and this letter has been preserved. In it he says, after giving an account of the equipment of Cabot's ships, "I have seen the map which the discoverer has made," and further on in his letter, "I do not now send the chart, or mapmundi which that man has made." We see by this that Ayala had this material, and we may reasonably conclude that through him this chart of Cabot reached La Cosa, who was thus enabled to delineate for the first time the North American coast.

Some writers have supposed that La Cosa simply attempted to make an outline of the east coast of Asia, and that he attached the names found on his map to points on that coast, but a careful study of his map dispels this idea.[1] While it is extremely disappointing, as he runs his coast line for some unexplained reason from east to west, instead of from north in a southwesterly direction, by turning the map so as to bring the coast line in the right direction it becomes possible to distinguish prominent features of the Atlantic coast. Who gave the map its nomenclature is still unexplained, but the names Cape England and Cape George seem to indicate that it could have been no other than Cabot himself. From what has been said thus far, the claim of England to original discovery of North America seems well established, and the French claim that Verrazano made the first discovery of the Atlantic coast in 1524, and the Spanish claim that Gomez accomplished the same exploit the next year fall to the ground. From the first, Spain's claim received but little consideration from her rivals. Especially was the Pope's action toward her disregarded, and allusion having been made in his presence to his brother of Spain's reliance upon this, the French king sarcastically remarked that he "should like to see the clause in our Father Adam's will which bequeathed to him this fine heritage." Fortunately, the ambitious projects which Spain had in other directions, and the consequent wars which she was obliged to

[1] A reproduction of a part of this map may be found in "Documentary History, Maine," J. G. Kohl, Vol. I, p. 151.

maintain, as well as her predilection for more southerly ventures, distracted her attention from large undertakings in the north. The French, however, inspired by the success of Verrazano, and more especially of Cartier in the St. Lawrence, became most powerful rivals of England in the field neglected by Spain. While there is reason to believe that Cabot really made the periplus of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, it has never been proved, and to Cartier the honor of penetrating it and discovering the great river of Canada must be accorded. Upon this discovery of Cartier France particularly relied, and to establish herself in the country discovered by that great navigator was a cherished project, hence, as political conditions favored, she made several attempts at colonization previous to Waymouth's voyage, all of which were abortive. Her fishermen, however, kept up a constant connection with the regions which they claimed, visiting from a very early date the waters which wash the northern shores of the continent, and plying their dangerous avocation with the fishermen of England, Spain, and Portugal, who also adventured there for fishing and traffic with the savages.

During the sixteenth century the French appear to have prosecuted these fishing enterprises more vigorously than any of their rivals, though Portuguese and English vessels probably visited the fishing grounds annually. Why, we may ask, were not colonies established here during the century following the English discovery? To answer this question we must carefully study the conditions prevailing in Europe and America during this long period of preparation. During nearly the entire century from the time of Ponce de Leon's landing on the shores of Florida in 1513, Spain was pushing her explorations and conquests in the southern portion of the Western Hemisphere, and planting her colonies wherever she could find a foothold. Her rivals witnessed her triumphs in Peru, Chili, Mexico and elsewhere, and her treasure ships returning home laden with the spoils of conquest. It seemed as if this Iberian Colossus would never cease growing in power. In Europe her aggressions were unbounded. The most that France or England, both jealous of each other, could do, was to check her aggressions as occasion offered, and to do this kept them busy enough. It would have been imprudent to establish expensive colonies so far away unless they could be

protected from such a dangerous foe, to say nothing of the savage tribes whose strength was unknown, and who would be sure to molest them sooner or later. Neither France nor England were in a condition during the entire century, and for some time after, to maintain colonies in the New World, though attempts were made from time to time by ambitious spirits of both nations to found colonies, as by the French Roberval and Ribaut, and the English Raleigh and Gilbert, but such ventures were hopeless from the start. Another motive, too, had its effect in diverting England's attention from colonial undertakings. This was the hope of rivalling her Spanish competitor by reaching the treasures of India by a northwest passage. This was a dream which England cherished for a century, and which she made strenuous efforts to accomplish. The story of these efforts forms one of the most interesting chapters in her annals.

Spain does not seem to have troubled herself about this. She had grown to even meditate the conquest and subjugation of England herself, and deliberately prepared to accomplish her purpose. Her real power, however, was greatly overestimated by other nations, as much so as that of Russia in our own day, and when her invincible fleet was brushed from the sea by Drake, the sham colossus shrank to its proper proportions. The hope of a northwest passage to India also faded, and the way to colonization began to open both to France and England. The New England coast was explored by Gosnold and Pring in 1602 and 1603, and Champlain made his way to St. Croix in 1604, to establish a colony there. The tercentenary of the brave Frenchman we celebrated last summer, and became familiar with the story of the sufferings of his colonists, and how, when disappointed in the places he had chosen for a settlement, he set out the next season to explore the Maine coast westward, he heard from the savages the unpleasant news that Waymouth had preceded him. Whether they told him that Waymouth had here set up a cross in token of English possession we do not know, but probably he heard of it before his departure, and this may have been one of the reasons why he proceeded farther north with his people, and finally founded Quebec, the Stadaconé of his predecessor, Jacques Cartier, which made possible a New France on the North American continent, and transferred to the New

World that irrepressible conflict which had long been waged in the Old World.

To Waymouth[1] and the men of his time the history of the three centuries which stretch between them and us was a sealed scroll, which mortal hand could not unroll, but to us it lies open, with all its wonderful events vividly depicted. Could it have been as clearly revealed to them as it is to us, how marvelous it would have seemed!

As we glance over it, as it lies unrolled before our eyes, it is indeed a storied page. We see Popham and his brave Devonshire men, and follow them in their struggles through the terrible winter in 1607 to their disastrous ending; the picturesque Smith as he explores the coast and names the country New England, and the sober Pilgrims and stern Puritans striving amid terrors of disease and death to found a new commonwealth, while to the north, like a dark cloud portending danger, the French are gathering to renew with them the old struggle upon a new soil and amid new conditions.

Nor is the struggle long delayed, for we soon see the painted savages led by the couriers of Frontenac creeping in the gloom of night upon the scattered settlements, and turn heartsick from the terrible scenes of fire and blood which desolate the land, and the hardships of the bereaved captives as they take up their weary march for Quebec.

But the stout settlers are gathering for a conflict which cannot end until the mastery of the continent is determined, and through summers' heat and winters' cold we follow northward the cross of St. George, and witness the savage warfare along the border; the advancing line of conquest; the coming of the ships of Boscawen; the red-coated troops of Amherst and of Wolfe; the sullen retreat and surrender of the foe; the fall of Louisburg and Quebec, and the cross of St. George in place of the lilies of France.

An epoch has ended; another is to dawn. Hardly have the shouts of victory ceased when men again begin to gather for

[1] George Waymouth had been supposed to be a rough old mariner until I discovered some years ago, in what is known as the King's Library in the British Museum, a manuscript volume by him entitled the "Jewell of Artes," which he presented to King James I, not long before his voyage to Maine. This volume had remained nearly three centuries unnoticed, and I had it reproduced and bound precisely like the original volume. A glance at it will show that the author was an educated man and well versed in the science of his time.

strife; men who have marched shoulder to shoulder in the past are arming to meet each other on the battlefield. Why dwell upon the details? Lexington, Bunker Hill, Yorktown, their story is too familiar for repetition. The old flag of St. George which our forefathers followed to victory, and which wherever it goes carries assurance of law, order, enlightenment, of all that makes for the highest civilization, is no longer here. A new flag has taken its place, whose stars are symbols of hope and promise to those who seek shelter beneath it. Upon the shores along which the clumsy ships of Cabot and Verrazano and Gomez sailed so long ago, this flag, unknown to Waymouth, floats from snowy Maine to sunny Florida, that land of flowers where Ponce de Leon dreamed of eternal youth. Westward, too, it floats to that great sea upon which Magelhaens gazed with wonder, and which the ships of England first traversed when Drake encompassed the world. Is it not a storied page, and have we not reason to wonder when we look over this vast continent and behold what has been accomplished by the English speaking race since Waymouth here met the naked savages? Perhaps I have led you too far away from the event which we have gathered here to celebrate; but a contemplation of the past is fruitful in lessons to guide our future.

To-day we stand upon this eastern shore of the continent which the old voyagers supposed to be the outlying boundary of India, and which they fondly hoped to penetrate by some waterway to those cities of fabulous wealth described by Marco Polo. England above all cherished this dream, and though baffled in this direction she turned eastward, and Lancaster, rounding the Cape of Good Hope, at last opened the way for her to realize her ambition. The great Orient, however, is still open to the conquest of commerce. Steam and electricity have advanced far in conquering space and time. Our flying trains and lightning wires bring the east and the west nearer to each other than ever Columbus or Cabot imagined them to be, and the great cities which are springing up upon our Pacific shores will draw to their marts the rich merchandise of Cathay of which our English forefathers so long dreamed.[1]

[1] For two score years after Waymouth's memorable voyage a remnant of faith in the possibility of a northwest passage to Cathay still lingered in England. Even

Mrs. Ernestine Fish, of Boston, rendered a delightful solo.

Miss Rita Creighton Smith, of Thomaston, the poet of the evening, read the following beautiful poem:

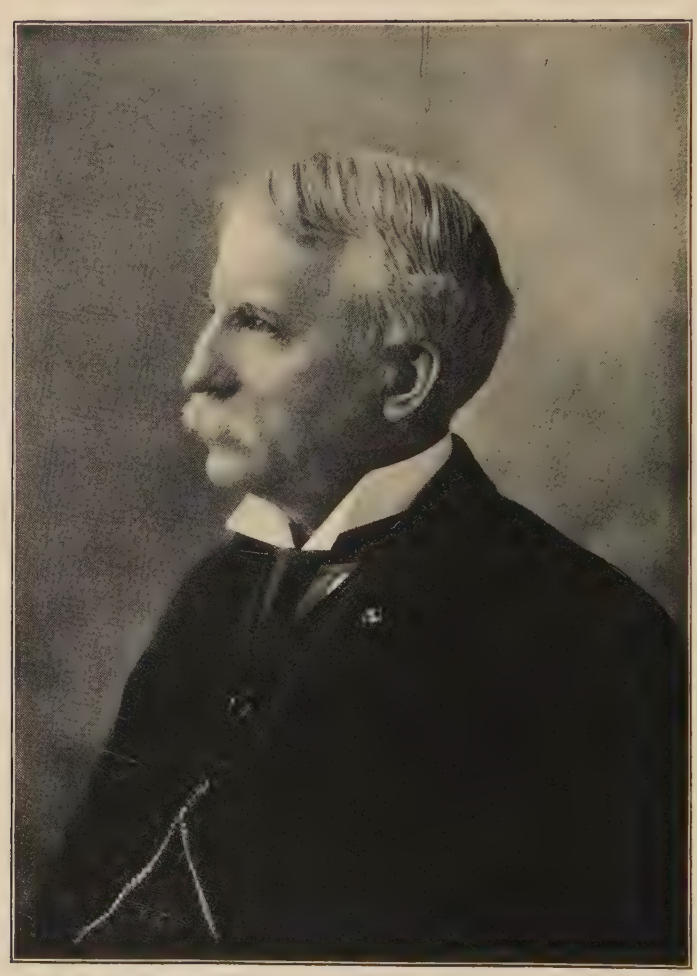
WESTWARD TO ENGLAND!

A new Ballad inciting Englishmen to Planting of the Western Lands, upon example of the late prosperous Voyage to the North Parts of Virginia, by Captain George Waymouth in the good ship Archangel.

Now alle you English Gentlemenne
  Who scorn to live at ease,
While there is fame for winnying
  Upon the Oceane Seas:
You Mariners, whoo nothing dreade
  When Winds blowe lustilie:
And all you honest Englishmen
  Who waste in Povertie:—
Rise uppe and seek the Westerne lands,
  As wee to you shall tell,
Who sailed with Captaine Waymouth
  In the brave Archangelle.

By God's most gracious Mercie
  We were not tempest tossed:
He brought us safe to harbour
  The daie of Pentecoste.
And we founde a noble River
  Embayed on either hand,
Which brought us up-warde, league on league,
  Into a pleasaunt lande:
A Land enriched with fish and fleshe,
  And excellent with Trees,
Where we were welle entreated
  By kindlye savages.
We deeme that never Christians
  Had trodde upon that shore,
And seen oure goodlie River
  Or stately Hilles before.

Gorges, who, on account of his efforts to plant colonies upon our shores, earned the title of Father of American Colonization, wrote, not long prior to his death, which occurred in 1647, that the savages reported to him that a people with shaven heads and wearing long robes came to them annually from the west in great ships bearing merchandise of various sorts to barter with them for furs, and that he believed this strange people to come from Cathay. This story of the savages was of course a fiction, but such a story was calculated to keep alive some faith in the old dream.



REV. HENRY S. BURRAGE, D.D.

Shall England live imprison'd
Within the Narrowe Seas,
While there are Windes to beare us
To shores as faire as these?
Or will you have it for a mocke
To them of France and Spaine
That Cabot, Gilberte, Raleigh,
Have found you realms in vaine?
And gallante Martin Frobisher
Has marked the Pathe you take,
And you sail against the sun-sette
Behind the sayles of Drake!

Up sayls, up sayls and westwarde!
Nor leeve another age
Your broade Landes lying fallow,
Your children's heritage.
Go forthe and wyn for Englande
A wider home, and teache
To Nations yet unthought on,
Oure comelie English speeche.
The lands of Golde and Pestilence,
Leave them to greedie Spaine,
And make your El Doradoe
In fieldes of golden graine.

And you shall finde a token
Whereby alle Christian men
Who reache our noble River
May knowe it once againe:
A token for the Frenchmen,
If from the Northe they come,
That we, the Menne of Englande,
Have marked that spot for home.
And if they dare uproote itte,
God turn it to their loss!
Beside Saynte George's River
We left Sainte George's crosse.

Rev. Henry S. Burrage, D. D., of Togus, then delivered the following address:

We are bringing to a close a memorable day in the annals of this historic town. Waymouth's voyage to the coast of Maine in 1605, his discovery of a river and his erection of a cross on

the shore of this harbor as a token of English discovery and sovereignty, are events of great significance in connection with the beginnings of colonization in the New World. We do well to celebrate such events, and the citizens of Thomaston have honored themselves under the lead of Hon. J. E. Moore, by fittingly recognizing the place these events hold in a movement which ultimately was to be crowned with success far surpassing the fondest dreams of those hardy adventurers, who three hundred years ago crossed the Atlantic, lured on by visions of empires yet to be. The citizens of Rockland, once a part of Thomaston, have joined in the services of the day with characteristic enterprise and enthusiasm. So also have the residents of other neighboring communities, dwellers in the valley of the St. George's River. All honor to those who on this day have laid aside the duties belonging to their ordinary avocations, and have devoted its hours to the consideration of events that carry us back to the dawn of American colonial history!

Queen Elizabeth died March 24, 1603. For England her reign throughout was an era of expansion. Under the influence of what Milton calls "the bright and blissful Reformation," the people of her realm had developed an ever deepening sense of the boundless capacities and the solemn responsibilities of the human soul. The result was the awakening of a spirit of lofty endeavor. English merchants extended the trade of the kingdom to many and distant lands. English seamen were busily employed in visiting and exploring new countries, preparing the way for the establishment of prosperous colonies. Especially in the seaport towns were the people alive to the many opportunities which the New World afforded for the exercise of liberty-loving, God-fearing, adventurous patriotism.

This era of expansion had not closed when Elizabeth died; but it was drawing to a close. A struggle with the crown and its adherents, in the interests of the rights of the people, had become inevitable. Indeed the preservation of the life of the nation, in a great civil war, would soon call into exercise all its energies. But the time for this momentous struggle was not yet. Meanwhile, the New World afforded an attractive field for dominion-loving, dominion-seeking Englishmen. If earlier attempts, under Raleigh and other adventurers of the closing

years of the sixteenth century, had proved fruitless, added efforts more wisely planned and more resolutely executed would show, it was believed, better results. So the new century opened. American colonization was still a fondly cherished dream. Gosnold was on the New England coast in 1602. Pring was here in 1603. Their reports, eagerly awaited and carefully studied, aroused added interest in schemes opening the way to worthy enterprise and, it was expected, to untold wealth. That France had plans and purposes with reference to colonization here was only a spur to English endeavor. Not the white lilies of France, but the red cross of St. George, should betoken the mastery on this side of the sea; and there was certainly need of haste if this great hope was to have its consummation. Raleigh at this time was in prison on a charge of which it is now believed he was guiltless; but the Earl of Southampton, who had been thrown into prison for supposed connection with the conspiracy of Essex, and had been released by the king in the summer of 1603, was deeply interested in new-world enterprises, and was in a situation for embarking in them. Indeed, even while in prison, he had aided in fitting out Gosnold's expedition. Not long after the earl's release Pring returned from his successful voyage. Associating with him his son-in-law, Thomas Arundell, afterward Baron of Wardour, also Sir Ferdinando Gorges and probably Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of England, the Earl of Southampton commenced preparations for an expedition to the American coast.

During these preparations Pring was engaged in a South American enterprise, and the command of this new expedition to the New England coast was given to Capt. George Waymouth of Cockington, a small village, now a part of Torquay, on the Devonshire coast. Until within a few years it was supposed that Waymouth was a bluff, brave, resourceful mariner only. But during some researches in London not long ago, the president of the Maine Historical Society, Hon. James P. Baxter, discovered in the king's library a manuscript volume presented by Waymouth to King James I, probably in the early years of his reign, which bears abundant evidence to the fact that Waymouth was proficient in mathematics, especially in geometry, and that he was also an accomplished draughtsman. Doubtless he obtained

his education on those "four prentize shipps" to which he refers in some autobiographical remarks. Certain it is that in his studies he gave attention not only to navigation, but to ship-building and to the art of fortification. An apt scholar along these lines, in the course of years he passed through all the various offices on board of a ship, advancing from the lowest to the highest.

When the seventeenth century opened, Waymouth was already so well known as a navigator that in 1601 (by the Worshipful Fellowship of the Merchants of London trading into the East Indies) he was given the command of an expedition for the discovery of a northwest passage to the Orient. This expedition, which sailed from the Thames May 2, 1602, was of course a failure. The pathway to the Indies, as any school-boy now knows, did not lie in that direction as men had long supposed. The promoters of the expedition found no fault with Waymouth because of the ill-success of the voyage, but on the contrary they decided that "being very competent" he should have the command of a second expedition in the same quest. But this new enterprise failed of realization. Having lost their venture in the first expedition, these London merchants found their disappointments at length too strong for them. In a word their courage failed, and the proposed second expedition was at last abandoned.

It was in this period of delay and suspense, it is thought, that Waymouth prepared his "Jewell of Artes," the volume which he presented to the king. Among those to whom James doubtless exhibited this volume, with its beautiful colored illustrations and curious demonstrations, was the Earl of Southampton. Certainly in one way or another the evidence was at hand that Waymouth was admirably qualified for the command of the expedition that the Earl and his friends had in contemplation, and he was called to its direction.

Although we have a "Relation" of the events of the voyage from the pen of James Rosier, who accompanied the expedition and was its historian, we have no account of the preparations that were made in the equipment of the vessel, or in the selection of the crew. Even the name of the vessel, the Archangel, is not mentioned by Rosier, though it has come down to us in the annals of a contemporary chronicler. Aside from

COCKINGTON CHURCH

Waymouth (the commander), Rosier, and Thomas Cam (the mate of the Archangel), we have no mention of the men employed in the expedition, twenty-nine in all. Most of them, as Rosier tells us, were "neere inhabitants on the Thames." They were doubtless such men as an expedition of that character would attract — hardy seamen who were ready for any enterprise that promised novelty and adventure. The vessel was made ready for the voyage at Ratcliffe on the Thames, a hamlet east of London. Ratcliffe highway, which connected the village with the great English metropolis, was the Regent Street of London sailors, and we may quite accurately picture to ourselves the scene at the dock when the sailing day came. It was at the opening of the season, Tuesday, the 5th day of March, and everything was in readiness. In all probability among those assembled at the dock were the Earl of Southampton, his son-in-law Thomas Arundell, and possibly Sir John Popham. There were many best wishes for the whole company, and many last words. Then, about the middle of the forenoon, the lines were cast off, strong English cheers went up from the crowd at the dock, and the Archangel dropped down the stream, a fair wind in four hours bringing the vessel to Gravesend, thirty miles below London. Head winds kept the voyagers on the English coast until the close of March. April 1, the vessel was six leagues south-east of the Lizards, the most southern promontory of England. On the 14th of April, Corvo, and afterwards Flores, islands of the Azores group, were sighted. As the voyage continued southerly winds prevailed, and Waymouth, unable to hold the course he had purposed to take, was compelled to head the Archangel further to the northward. On the 13th of May there were indications of the near approach of land, and on the following day a sailor at the masthead descried a whitish, sandy cliff, west north-west, about six leagues distant, now supposed to be Sankaty Head, the eastern extremity of Nantucket. Nantucket is surrounded by shoals, and Waymouth, sailing in toward the sandy cliff thus descried, soon found his vessel in peril. By his discovery of the peril, however, he was able to rescue the Archangel from her dangerous position. At once the prow of the vessel was turned back, and standing off all that night and the next day, Waymouth endeavored to make his way to the southward

but the wind was contrary. Again, on the 16th of May the Archangel was headed toward the land, but where the charts located it, it was not to be found. At the close of the following day, however, May 17, land was again discovered, but the wind was blowing a gale, the sea was running high, and it was not deemed safe to approach the shore. In the early morning it was discovered that the land was that of an island "some six miles in compasse" according to Rosier's estimate, and by noon the Archangel was anchored on the north side of the island, and about a league from it. This island, named by Waymouth St. George, was Monhegan, as all writers concerning it agree. Waymouth landed upon the island, but only for the purpose of securing a supply of dry wood. Evidently Rosier was one of the landing party. "From hence," he says, "we might discerne the maine land from the west south-west to the east north-east, and a great way (as it then seemed, and as we after found it) vp into the maine we might discerne very high mountaines, though the maine seemed but low land; which gaue vs a hope it would please God to direct vs to the discouerie of some good; although wee were driuen by winds farre from that place, whither (both by our direction and desire) we euer intended to shape the course of our voyage."

Have you ever had that view on a bright, beautiful day in May or June? I am aware that Rosier's words may have reference to the view of the coast one has from Monhegan, or from the deck of the Archangel anchored a league north of the island. In either case the scene is one of remarkable attractiveness. The St. George's Islands are so far away as almost to blend with the coast line; and farther back, higher "vp in the maine," are the Union and Camden Mountains, beautifully, darkly blue, conspicuous features of the landscape. The tourist on our coast in summer, in his yacht or on some coastwise steamer, will find himself looking with lingering delight upon a scene of such singular charms.

The Archangel remained at her anchorage that night, and on the following day, Whit-Sunday, because the vessel "rode too much open to the sea and winds," Waymouth weighed anchor, and brought his vessel "to the other Ilands more adjoyning to the maine, and in the rode directly with the mountaines."

Strangely enough there have been those who have supposed that the mountains Waymouth saw, and in the direction of which he made his way to the other islands where he found a convenient harbor, named by him Pentecost Harbor, were the White Mountains. But this theory has found no advocates for many years, though some in this time have unwittingly repeated old errors. The fact is that the White Mountains are not visible from the deck of a vessel in the position of the Archangel. The late Captain Deering of the steamer Lewiston, and the late Captain Dennison of the steamer City of Richmond, who for many years sailed along our coast from Portland to Machias, have left us this testimony, that never in all these years had they seen Mt. Washington from the waters north of Monhegan. Indeed only at rare intervals, when the sky is exceptionally clear, can the towering peak of Mt. Washington be seen from the high ground on which the Monhegan lighthouse stands, and then merely as a faint speck on the horizon; while north of Monhegan, "a great way vp into the maine," objects which no mariner approaching our coast could possibly fail to notice, are the Camden and Union Mountains, clearly, darkly outlined against the sky.

The harbor in which Waymouth anchored the Archangel, and which he called Pentecost Harbor, was an island harbor, and Rosier's narrative furnishes abundant means for its identification with the present St. George's Harbor. From Waymouth's anchorage, a league north of Monegan, this harbor could be reached by proceeding "along to the other Ilands more adjoyning to the maine," and "in the rode" directly with the monutains which Waymouth had before him as he sailed in from his anchorage north of Monhegan, as Rosier says. Moreover, it was a harbor formed by islands, and could be entered from four directions. This is true of St. George's harbor, and in this vicinity of St. George's Harbor only. Indeed the endeavor to identify the Pentecost Harbor of Rosier's "Relation" with Boothbay Harbor, or with any other harbor on the neighboring coast, fails to meet these and other requirements of Rosier's narrative.

But the paramount purposes of the voyage were not to be met by merely an approach to the coast. Waymouth spent a few

days in finding for himself and his men rest from the weariness of the way thither; and then the work of exploration began. In his shallop which had been put in order, and with nearly half of his company, Waymouth proceeded in toward the main land in order to discover its resources and possibilities for English colonization, and soon found himself in a "great riuer." Up this river Waymouth passed in his shallop, probably with the tide and returning with the tide; and then, in the middle of the next forenoon, he returned to Pentecost Harbor with the joyful announcement of this happy discovery. A week and more were spent in added exploration among the islands and along the coast. Then, on the 11th of June, with a favoring breeze and tide, Waymouth brought the Archangel into the river which he had discovered. In his "Relation," in glowing words Rosier gives expression to the thoughts and feelings of the whole com pany as from the high deck of the Archangel they viewed the land on either side. They noted its pleasant fertility; looking into its many "gallant coues" on the right and on the left they beheld the numerous excellent places for docking and repairing ships; and again and again the possibilities which the scene everywhere suggested deeply stirred and thrilled them. Many of the company had been travellers in various countries and on the most famous rivers, yet, says Rosier, "affirmed them not comparable to this they now beheld." Some who had been with Sir Walter Raleigh in his voyage to Guiana, and had sailed up the "Orenoque," were raised to loftier enthusiasm here. Others, who were familiar with the Seine and Loire, the glory of France, found here in this river of the New World features that were unequalled in these renowned, historic rivers of Europe. "I will not prefer it before our riuer of Thames," wrote Rosier, "because it is England's richest treasure; but we all did wish those excellent Harbours, good deeps in a continuall conuenient breadth and small tide gates, to be as well therein for our countries good, as we found them here (beyond our hopes) in certaine, for those to whom it shall please God to grant this land for habitation; which if it had, with the other inseparable adherent commodities here to be found; then I would boldly affirme it to be the most rich, beautifull, large & secure harbouring riuer that the world affoordeth."

In this highly colored sketch we may easily discover contagious enthusiasm and easy exaggeration; yet one passing up the St. George's River at high water on a beautiful day in May or June must be unresponsive to nature in her loveliest moods if he should not find himself in sympathy with Waymouth and his little company, their hearts thrilled with an ecstacy of delight as they looked out upon the many objects of wondering interest which their enraptured eyes beheld.

There have been those who supposed that the "great riuer" which Waymouth discovered and ascended was the Kennebec, and some have thought it was the Penobscot. But as one of your own citizens, Captain George Prince, clearly demonstrated nearly a half century ago, neither the Kennebec nor the Penobscot satisfies the points of identification which Rosier's "Relation" unmistakably presents. The breadth and depth of the river, the character of the bottom, and especially the "very many gallant coues" on either side, answer to these features of the St. George's River, and to no other on our Maine coast. Moreover, the direction of the river "as it runneth vp into the maine" is, as Rosier says, "toward the great mountaines." All the way up the St. George's River the Union and Camden Mountains are in full view. What mountains will one have before him as he sails up the Kennebec or the Penobscot?

Waymouth seems to have anchored the Archangel near the ruins of Fort St. George, on the eastern bank of the river. On the following day, in his light-horseman, with seventeen of his men, he proceeded up the river to the "codde" or bay at the point where the river trends westward, the site of Thomaston. Here they landed, and ten of the party marched up into the country toward the mountains back in the main, which they first descried on approaching the land. At first these mountains, as Rosier says, seemed only a league away, but after they had gone some distance, the weather "parching hot," and all being "weary of so tedious and laboursom a trauell," the order to face about was given, the party returned to the boat and then to the Archangel.

On the following day the work of exploration was continued by an examination of that part of the river not previously visited, a distance estimated by Rosier as twenty miles. The

"beauty and goodness" of the land Rosier mentions in glowing words, also the fact that on the return, at that part of the river which trended westward, accordingly here at Thomaston, a cross was erected as a token of English discovery and possession, a fact commemorated here this afternoon by most appropriate services.

A few years ago, the late Hon. J. L. M. Curry, then United States Minister to Spain, found in the library at Simancas a map of the Atlantic coast line of the United States compiled in 1610 by a surveyor sent over to Virginia by King James for that purpose. Into his hands, evidently, the king placed the earlier maps of Gosnold, Pring, Waymouth and others; and from these, and such personal information as he was able to gather, without visiting (so far as is known) the New England coast, produced a map surprisingly accurate. On it are indicated such marked features of the landfall of our Maine coast as the Union and Camden Mountains. A single mountain, west of the Kennebec, may be intended to represent Mt. Washington as seen from Small Point. But of especial interest, in connection with the celebration of to-day, is the fact that on this Simancas map of 1610, the St. George's River, under its Indian name Tahanock, is delineated with its characteristic features; while at the very point where, according to Rosier, Waymouth erected his token of English discovery and possession, is the mark of a cross. What is this cross but the cross which Waymouth erected, and which he marked upon his "perfect geographicall map" — the map made by Waymouth, as Rosier tells us in his "Relation." Strong testimony in confirmation of such a supposition we have in the fact that on the Simancas map Monhegan is designated "I St. George." This is the name given to Monhegan by Waymouth. "The first Iland we fell with," says Rosier, "was named by us St. George's Island," a name which later was transferred to the group of islands nearer to the main land.

From this further exploration of the river, and this erection of a cross in the interest of the country from which they came, Waymouth and his men returned to the Archangel. The object of the expedition, in a degree even far beyond their hopes, had now been accomplished. They had discovered a bold coast, "an excellent and secure harbour for as many Ships as any nation professing Christ is able to set forth to Sea," a river, which the

all-creating God had made a highway over which the great riches of the land might easily and safely be borne — a land whose invaluable riches the Indians could "neither discerne, vse, nor rightly esteeme," and it was fitting that there should be haste in returning to England in order speedily to bring this information to the "Honourable setters foorth" of the expedition which had for its ultimate end, as Rosier expressly states, "a publique good and true zeal of promulgating God's Holy Church by planting Christianity."

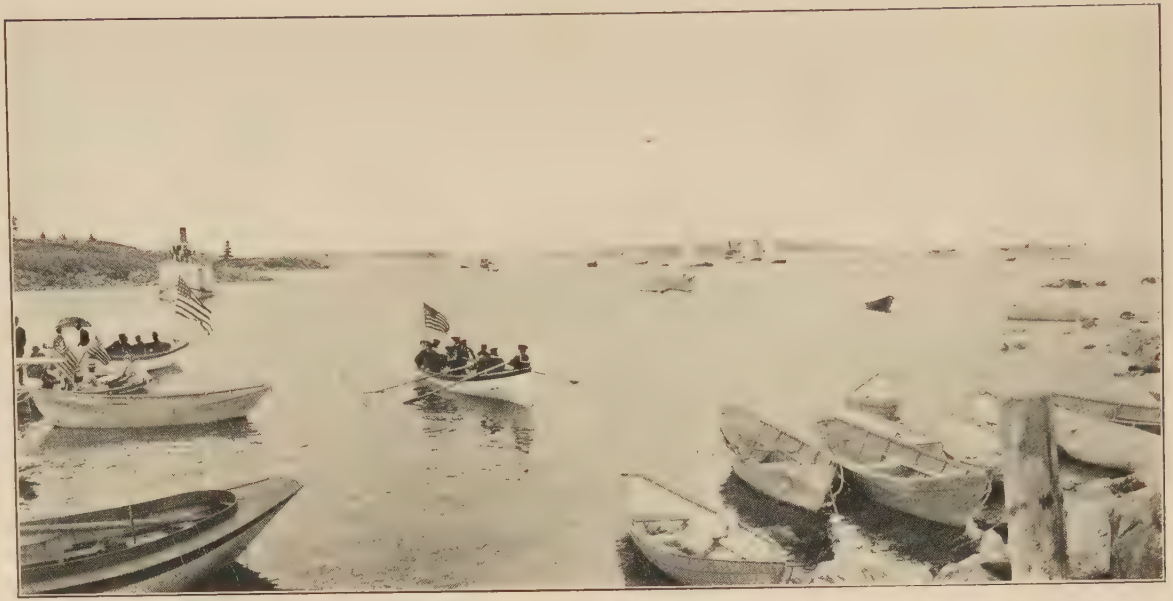
Already, while at Pentecost Harbor, Waymouth had seized five Indians, purposing to take them to England with the design of teaching them the English language and in this way of securing from them added information concerning their people, rulers, mode of government, &c. The Archangel now dropped down the river to its mouth, and then to Pentecost Harbor, where water was taken aboard; and on the sixteenth of June, the wind being fair, and all preparations for the departure having been completed, the Archangel set sail on her homeward voyage.

Over summer seas and full of the joy which success achieved always awakens, establishing on the voyage confidential relations with their Indian captives, Waymouth and his little company made their way back to England, anchoring the Archangel in Dartmouth Haven on July 18. Rosier's "Relation" of the voyage ends here. We are not told with what welcome the voyagers were received, or upon whose ears the story of their adventures first fell. But it requires no stretch of the imagination to bring before us the scene as on that Thursday afternoon, about four o'clock, the Archangel came to her anchorage, and the members of the expedition were surrounded by their eager questioning countrymen. Heroes they all were, but of what special, wondering interest were the five Indians — the dusky aborigines of the American forests — whom Waymouth had brought with him as specimens of the inhabitants of the New World! It was a thrilling narrative that was told, we may well believe; and it was told graphically on the deck of the Archangel, or later in the lounging places of the town where the sailors rehearsed the more prominent details of the voyage.

How long the Archangel remained in Dartmouth Haven we are not told. Rosier mentions no other harbor or harbors in

connection with the return of the expedition to England; and it seems probable that leaving the vessel in Dartmouth Haven he hurried to London to place before the promoters of the voyage the tidings which they so eagerly awaited. According to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Waymouth brought the Archangel into the harbor of Plymouth, where Gorges was in command as governor. This must have been after the arrival at Dartmouth Haven, for Rosier tells us this was the first "harbour in England" entered by the Archangel on her return. While the Archangel was in Plymouth harbor, Waymouth delivered into the care of Sir Ferdinando Gorges three of the Indians. According to Gorges this was a fact of prime importance in connection with his New World colonization schemes; for in his "Briefe Narration," referring to the Indians who came into his possession at this time, he says, "This accident must be acknowledged the means under God of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations." With ever deepening interest Gorges listened to the answers these Indians gave to his eager questionings. "The longer I conversed with them," he says, "the better hope they gave me of those parts where they did inhabit, as proper for our uses; especially when I found what goodly rivers, stately islands and safe harbors those parts abounded with, being the special marks I levelled at, as the only want our nation met with in all their navigations along that coast. And having kept them full three years, I made them able to set me down what great rivers ran up into the land, what men of note were seated on them, what power they were of, how allied, what enemies they had and the like."

We have no record of Waymouth's return to London and of his interview there with the promoters of the expedition. Arundell had been elevated to the peerage, and only a month after the return of the Archangel he was appointed colonel of an English regiment raised for service in Holland. It is probable, therefore, that he was now interested in other enterprises than those on this side of the sea. The Earl of Southampton, however, continued his interest in American colonization, but in connection with the London Company of Virginia, in whose second charter his name stands next to those of the high officers of state; and he remained at the head of its governing board until the second charter was taken away.



ST. GEORGE'S HARBOR
July 6, 1905

But the influence of these men, so far as English interest in colonization on our New England coast is concerned, was more than made good by the influence of Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of England. Indeed he seems to have had some part in the Archangel's quest, for on the return of the vessel two of the ndians seized by Waymouth were turned over to him. By what he learned from these men of the New World his interest in western colonization was greatly intensified. With Sir Ferdinando Gorges he was soon busy with plans for added exploration, and in 1606 each dispatched a vessel destined for the New England coast. That fitted out by Sir John Popham, on which were two of Waymouth's Indians, was captured by the Spaniards and the venture was lost. Gorges' vessel, however, with which went Captain Pring, succeeded in reaching the coast, and Pring returned bringing "with him the most exact discovery of the coast," says Gorges, "that ever came to my hands."

Why the command of neither of these two vessels sent out in 1606 was given to Waymouth, we can only conjecture. Higher ambitions seem to have seized him after his return in 1605, and it is probable that he sought service under the crown. If so his seeking was unsuccessful, and his later career was one of almost continual disappointment. But Pring's expedition confirmed the impressions concerning the New World which were made upon Waymouth's company. Accordingly Sir John Popham did not lose heart on account of the disaster that befel his vessel, and the Popham colony in 1607, in which the Chief Justice had so prominent an interest, followed close upon Pring's return.

By this colony the results of Waymouth's expedition were made secure. Here at Thomaston and on one of the St. George's islands — probably Allen's Island — Waymouth had established an English claim to right of possession. No time was lost in making good that claim by the planting of colonists on the New England coast. England — not France, not Spain — was to have dominion here. The failure of the Popham colonists to retain their hold at the mouth of the Kennebec — great as that failure was — did not silence England's claim to possession. Yet Royalist interests, fostered by Sir John Popham, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others allied to the fortunes of the Stuart dynasty, were not to obtain any strong foothold here. The

Puritan was already looming large in English concerns. Elizabeth had sought to hinder his rise, but the emphasis which Puritanism gave to the concerns of the soul made such a profound impression upon the great body of the English people that the result was the awakening of that personal consideration of duty and destiny which developed speedily throughout the land a strong, stalwart national force. Says Green, in his "History of the English People," "Their common calling, their common brotherhood in Christ, annihilated in the mind of the Puritans that overpowering sense of social distinctions which characterized the age of Elizabeth. There was no open break with social traditions; no open revolt against the social subordination of class to class. But within these forms of the older world beat for the first time the spirit which was to characterize the new. The meanest peasant felt himself ennobled as a child of God. The proudest noble recognized a spiritual equality in the poorest 'saint.'"

Already the Royalist party in England, in relation to the Puritan party, was to see repeated the experience of the Forerunner, "He must increase, I must decrease." Emphatically was this true here in New England, whither came the Pilgrims in 1620, and the Puritans in 1629, followed for a decade by thousands of those who saw on this side of the sea the opportunity for building a better England founded upon those ideals which had come to have overmastering force, but for the realization of which old England did not present the same ground of reasonable expectation.

It is the chief significance of this celebration that it records, and makes prominent, the fact that here at Thomaston and on one of the St. George's islands was the earliest known English claim to the right of possession on the New England coast — a claim to which expression was given by the erection of a cross. Nor was it made any too soon. Waymouth left Pentecost Harbor on his return voyage June 26 (N. S.). De Monts, whose little colony at St. Croix Island had experienced terrible suffering during the winter and had lost nearly half its number by death, had now determined to seek another location for settlement, and June 18 (N. S.) — therefore eight days before Waymouth set sail for England — the French explorer, in a vessel of fifteen

tons, with about as many in his party as Waymouth numbered in his company on the Archangel, set forth on an expedition down the coast. No mention of English adventurers in the same neighborhood is made until de Monts' return, when having reached the Kennebec on July 29, his chronicler, Champlain, mentions the fact that while at the Kennebec information was received from an Indian concerning a ship ten leagues away, whose men had killed five Indians under cover of friendship; and Champlain adds that from a description of the men on the vessel "we concluded they were English." Plainly the reference was to the Archangel. As Waymouth did not set sail from Pentecost Harbor on his return to England until more than a week after de Monts left St. Croix Island on his exploration of the coast, there was an opportunity, it would seem, for a meeting of the French and English explorers. In the presence of representatives of the two nationalities on the coast at the same time, it would also seem as if France would be ready to dispute the claim of right of possession which Waymouth had here asserted in England's behalf. But happily de Monts, in passing along the New England coast as far as Cape Cod, found no place suitable for colonization, as it seemed to him, and withdrew his colony from St. Croix Island to Port Royal.

It was not a matter of little importance, therefore, that Waymouth erected his cross here and that de Monts retired across the Bay of Fundy. It is true there were later attempts on the part of the French at Mt. Desert and Castine to secure a foothold on the New England coast, but their efforts were unsuccessful; while England from this time on strengthened her grasp upon this fair western domain, and let it be known in language that could not be misunderstood that she intended both to have and to hold the prize she had seized.

At the celebration at Calais and St. Croix Island a year ago, commemorating the three hundredth anniversary of de Monts' settlement in 1604, the French Consul General at Montreal, in an address, pathetically remarked, "It has been the lot of France to scatter many fruitful seeds the benefits of which others have reaped." The fact is that in the early history of American colonization, France not only had seized but held a commanding position upon the continent. The St. Lawrence river, discovered

by Cartier, afforded easy access to the valley of the Mississippi by way of the Great Lakes. But England, advancing from the Atlantic coast, was even more fortunate. The stars in their courses fought on her side, it is true; but there were resolute purpose, strong determination, and unconquerable energy on the part of our English ancestors to the end that English laws, English traditions and English ideas should here become fruitful; in other words that from the seed here sown, they, not others, should reap. Because of what they did, we have a New England on these western shores.

Have we still their spirit? Certainly, it will little avail us to build monuments as memorials of great deeds accomplished in the long ago unless we cherish the spirit that enabled our fathers to do these deeds. May this celebration, by recalling the beginnings of our colonial history, beget in us all better desires and nobler purposes — desires and purposes which shall make us more worthy citizens of this great and prosperous republic.

Mr. Baxter had brought to Thomaston his facsimile copy of Waymouth's "Jewell of Artes," referred to by Dr. Burrage in his address, and at the close of the exercises of the evening this beautiful volume was exhibited to many who lingered to examine its interesting pages.

The day throughout was one of very great interest. This brief account should not close without a reference to the delightful informal reception given to the guests of the day in Thomaston homes, and especially by Dr. and Mrs. J. E. Walker at their beautiful colonial residence. The spacious rooms, fragrant with the scent of innumerable roses and pinks, and bright with English and American flags, the brilliant uniforms of the naval officers mingling with the lighter colors of the dresses of the ladies, presented a most attractive picture.

PERFECTING OR VALUATION LISTS OF KITTERY, MAINE, 1760

CONTRIBUTED BY NATHAN GOOLD

"A true Copy of the perfecting Lists whereby the Province Tax was made and proportioned by us the Subscribers on the Inhabitants & Estates rateable In Kittery Anno 1760.

Kittery May 27th 1761

Thomas Cutt
John Dennet
Elihu Gunnison
John P. Bartlet
Alexa[r] Shapleigh

Selectmen or Assessors of Kittery.

A Perfecting List for ye Year 1760 for that Part of ye Town Called ye Lower or first Parish In Kittery the first day of September

	Polls.	Total Value of Estates
Lady Mary Pepperrell		£110— 0—0
Edmon Moody	4	08— 0—0
Richd Keating	2	25————
Robt Orom	1	8— 0——
Widow Snow		7————
George Moody	1	5— 0——
John Stocker	1	3— 0——
Nathl Sparhawk Esq	1	110— 6——
Saml Rackief	1	5— 0——
Josh[a] White	1	8— 0——
W[m] Walker	1	8— 0——
Josiah Reary	1	8—10——
Math[w] Vincent	1	12— 0——
Jona[n] Vincent	1	2— 0——
Joseph Stevens	1	7— 0——
John Underwood	2	25— 0——
Nath[l] Tod	1	8— 0——

Anna Dearing	1	10— 0—
W^{m} More	2	11— 0—
Roger Dearing	1	26— 0—
Roger Mitchell	0	10— 0—
Eben^{r} Dearing	1	8— 0—
Sam^{l} Lanfear	1	6— 0—
Charles Chaney	1	20— 0—
Rich^{d} Mitchell	2	9— 0—
John Kaswell	1	7— 0—
Jeames Kaswell	1	7— 0—
Wido Rackleef & Son	1	10— 0—
And^{w} Phillops	1	2— 0—
Tim^{o} Gearish	1	35———
Th^{o} Furnald	1	17— 0—
Robart Parker	1	2— 0—0
Charles Foy	1	6— 0—0
Jno Foy	1	———
Jos Relling & Son Joseph	2	40— 0—
Step^{h} Sevey	1	30—14—
Sam^{l} Relling	1	2— 0—0
John Finny	1	4— 0—0
Sam^{l} Mitchell	1	25— 0—0
Clem^{t} Dearing	2	24— 0—
Jos^{h} Dearing	1	———
Rich^{d} Cutt Esq^{r} & Son	2	106— 0—
Benj^{n} Relling	1	6— 0—
John Tobie & Son	1	2— 0—
Nich^{s} Weeks Jun^{r}	2	13— 0—
W^{m} Mitchell	1	15— 0—
Joseph Mitchell & Son	2	35— 0—
David Welch	2	5— 0—0
John Hiddin	0	12— 0—0
Nath^{l} Hix	1	20— 0—0
Step^{n} Smith	1	17—12—0
Nich^{s} Bryer & his Mother	1	10— 0—0
Joseph Gearish	1	100— 0—0
Rob^{t} Eltett Gearish	1	9— 0—0
Caleb Hutchings	1	33— 0—
John Norton	2	54— 0—0

Sam[l] Norton	1	————
W[m] Hutchings	1	5— 0.—
Nich[s] Sevey	1	12— 0—0
W[m] Dearing	2	63— 0—0
John Hutchings Ju[r]	1	4— 0—0
Henery Barter	2	40— 0—0
John Bartter	1	-———
Joseph Gunnison	1	30—18—0
John Gunnison	1	28— 0—0
Joseph Hutchings	2	27— 0—
John Wilson	1	———
Abra[m] Chapman	1	8— 0—
Isaac Chapman	2	10— 0—
George Finex	0	20— 0—
John Finex	1	2— 0—0
Petter Lewis	1	65— 0—
Mos[s] Wilson	2	78— 0—0
And[w] Haley	3	20— 0—0
And[w] Haley Ju[r]	1	12— 0—0
Benj[n] Parker Esq	3	57— 9—0
Rich[d] Fenix	1	35— 0—0
Wido Marth[a] Jones	1	18— 0—0
Benj[n] Weeks	1	10— 0—0
Josh[a] Hutchings	1	10— 0—0
Marjery Gunnison	—	10— 0—0
Benj[n] Gearish	1	6— 0—0
Jn[o] Brodeen	1	2— 0—0
Hen[y] Beell	1	24— 0—
Sam[l] Leech	1	6— 0—0
Sam[l] Pray	1	28— 0—0
Sam[l] Pray Ju[r]	1	7— 0—0
Eben[r] Pray	1	7— 0—0
Francis Winkly	1	8— 0—0
Eno[h] Stevens	1	10— 0—0
Nath[l] Hooper	1	6————
Elihu Gunnison	3	33— 0—0
Mary Whipple	—	63— 0—0
Eben[r] Furnald	1	23—16—0
Jon[n] Furnald	1	4— 0—0

Eben^{r} Furnald Ju^{r}	1	4————
Benj^{n} Furnald	2	12— 0—0
Joseph Furnald	1	12— 0—0
Th^{o} Tripe	2	12— 0—0
Jona^{n} Dain	2	13— 0—0
Joseph Dain	1	11— 0—0
Sam^{l} Newmarch	2	25— 0—0
W^{m} Stimson	2	16— 0—0
Elex^{r} Jones	0	12— 0—0
Elex^{r} Jones Ju^{r}	1	2— 0—0
Joseph Poakswell for Capt Jn^{o} Mewmarch's Estate	1	40— 0—0
Sam^{l} Furnald	1	10— 0—0
John Furnald	1	11— 0—0
Roland Jenkins	2	11— 0—0
Nath^{l} Mendom's Estate	—	28— 0—0
Jos Weeks Ju^{r}	1	15— 0—0
Rich^{d} Peary	1	2— 0—0
Farbour Allin	1	6— 0—0
Benj^{n} Mugridge	1	24— 0—0
Will^{m} Furnald's Island	—	28— 0—0
Mark Furnald	2	13— 0—0
Marcy Bellemce	—	6— 0—0
Edw^{d} More	1	3— 0—0
Edw^{d} Webber	1	4— 0—0
W^{m} Gerrish	1	4— 0—0
Francis Winkly Ju^{r}	1	————
Sam^{l} Walliss & Aug^{s} Seveys Estate	1	40————
Paull Williams	1	4— 0—0
Benj^{n} Greenlif	1	15— 0—0
Th^{o} Chanler	1	5— 0—0
Thom^{s} Green	1	————
Jeams Green	1	————
Deborah More's Son	1	————
W^{m} Stevens	1	4— 0—0
Josh^{a} Pray	1	————
Jn^{o} Winkly	1	4— 0—0
Jos Foy	1	————

Joseph Cutt	1	30— 0—0
John Lolly	1	8— 0—0
Joell More	1	6— 0—0
Sam[l] Greene	1	———
Eps Greene	1	2— 0—0
W[m] Pilloes	1	———
John Allin	1	———
Joseph Newmarch for Clarks Island		5.— 0—0
And[r] Grene	1	———
Sam[l] Amee	1	———
Jn[o] Smart	1	———
John Furnald Ju[r]	1	3— 0—0
Elihu Weeks	1	———
Sam[l] Lewis	1	———
Petter Lewis Ju[r]	1	———
Rich[d] Fenix Ju[r]	1	———
Wm Lewis	1	———
Wm Simson	1	———
Simson Furnald	1	———
Thom[s] Batson	1	———
Sam[l] Wilson	1	22— 0—0
Thom[s] Bryant	1	———
W[m] Weeks	1	6— 0—0
Nath[l] Sparhawk Esq as guardian to his Children for money at Interest		600— 0—0

Lady Mary Pepperrell and Nathaniel Sparhawk, Esq., were the only persons who had a valuation for "Faculty." They each had £40 0 0.

A Perfecting List for the Year 1760 for that Part of The Town Called the Middle Parish in Kittery the first Day of September.

	Polls	Total Value
Cap[n] W[m] Wentworth	1	£60— 0—0

Rich[d] Pope	1	29—11—0
Ebenezer Leach	1	18— 0—0
Deacon Thomas Cutt and sons Tho[s] & Rob[t]	3	66— 0—0
Henry Benson	1	32— 0—0
Zachriah Knock	1	9—12—0
Widow Keziah Gowell	0	11—15—0
John Fernald Tertius	1	13— 5—0
Benjamin Ramick	1	6—18—0
Hezekiah Staple	1	———
Timothy Hanscom	1	42—14—0
Deacon Benj[n] Fernald	2	59—14—0
George Fernald	1	3— 0—0
Widow Mary Dennet	1	30—12—0
John Dennet	2	28—18—0
Robert Cole	2	6—10—0
John Dennet Tertius	1	———
Abner Cole	1	10—10—0
Asahel Cole	1	8—10—0
Jonathan Spinney	1	10—10—0
Nath[l] Fernald Junr & Son Timothy	2	30—11—0
Widow Anne Cottel	1	6—10—0
Richard Carter	1	6—16—0
John Adams and Son Mark Adams	2	55—19—0
John Adams Junr	1	———
Samuel Rice	3	48— 0—0
Ruth Marr	—	7—10—0
Samuel Johnson	1	36—11—0
William Roges	1	34— 0—0
John Tapley	2	4— 0—0
Jonathan Mendum	2	33— 0—0
John Godsoe	2	25— 0—0
John Marr	1	2— 0—0
Nath[l] Kene	2	42—10—0
Isaac Kene	1	7—12—0
Joseph Kene	2	26—12—0
Samuel Pickernail	2	23— 0—0

James Fernald	1	25—2—10
William Willson	1	38— 0—0
Nathl Fernald	1	22— 0—0
James Johnson	1	55—10—0
Tobias Fernald Junr	1	13— 0—0
Tobias Fernald	2	32— 0—0
Thomas Rogers	2	57—18—0
Thomas Rogers Junr	1	4— 0—0
John Rogers Junr	1	———
Ephriam Sherburn	2	24— 0—0
Samuel Monson	1	28— 0—0
Thomas Pettegrew	1	———
Joseph Manson	3	22— 0—0
William Willson Junr	2	15— 0—0
John Fernald 4d	1	30— 0—0
Widow Abigail Fernald	—	4— 0—0
Robert Cutt	1	34— 0—0
Widow Mehitable Shepard	0	15— 0—0
Mary Shepard	1	1—10—0
Zaccheus Beal	2	15— 0—0
Benjamin Hammons	0	27— 0—0
Edmund Hammons	1	5— 0—0
David Willson	1	14— 0—0
Widow Judah Willson	0	14— 0—0
Arkles Fernald	2	5— 0—0
Nicholas & Jos. Weeks	2	50— 0—0
Charles Smith	2	32— 0—0
Thomas Hutchins	2	36— 0—0
Benjamin Hutchins	1	23— 0—0
Enoch Hutchins	2	24— 0—0
Samuel Weeks	1	4—10—0
Mark Hutchins	1	———
Josiah Hutchins	1	———
Samuel Haley	2	30— 0—0
Joseph Hutchins Junr	1	———
Samuel Haley for Gowen Willson Estate	—	7—10—0
John Haley	3	33— 0—0
Josiah Haley	1	———

Thomas Lewis	2	39— 0—0
Andrew Lewis	1	8— 0—0
Widow Katrine Marr	0	6— 0—0
John Hutchins	1	26—10—0
David Pope	1	———
Benjamin Willson	1	14— 0—0
Richard Pope Jun^{r}	1	8— 0—0
Edward Cutt	2	42— 0—0
Joseph Curtis	1	19— 0—0
Widow Mary Pettegrew	1	6— 0—0
Benjamin Willson Jun^{r}	1	4— 0—0
Samuel Fitts	2	———
Simeon Fitts	1	———
James Pickernail	1	4— 0—0
John Shapleigh	1	33—12—0
Widow Elizabeth Pettegrew	1	19—10—0
Richard Fowell	1	———
John Alless	1	9— 0—0
John Weymouth	1	———
David Mendum of Portsmouth	—	3— 0—0
Widow Sarah Clough	—	6— 0—0
Henry Benson Jun^{r}	1	———
John Peters	2	2— 0—0
Cap^{n} John Wentworth	1	3— 0—0
John Stevens	1	2— 0—0
Job Tapley	1	2— 0—0
William Tapley	1	———

For "Faculty" Widow Mary Dennet had £15 12 0.

A Perfecting List of the Polls and Estates in the Lower Part of the upper Parish in Kittery for the year 1760.

	Polls.	Total Value.
John Spinney	3	£11—10—0
John Spinney Ju^{r}	1	———
Widow Abigail Spinney	0	12— 9—0
Edmond Spinney	1	10—10—0

John Tetherly	1	5—10—0
William Tetherly	1	6— 0—0
William Cottle	1	20— 0—0
Thomas Fernald	1	(Torn out)—10—0
Peter Dixon	3	42— 2—0
Isaac Remick	1	7—10—0
Joshua Remick	1	18— 0—0
Moses Fernald	1	6— 0—0
John Scriggen	1	1— 0—0
Paul Scriggen	2	1— 0—0
John Scriggen Jr	1	———
Widow Hannah King	0	9— 6—0
Amos Paul	1	24—13—0
Steven Field Jr	1	13—18—0
Noah Paul	1	1—10—0
Steven Paul	2	12— 6—0
Steven Field	0	12— 0—0
Joseph Field	1	41—10—0
Daniel Lydston	1	20—16—0
Waymon Lydston	1	15— 3—0
Samuel Remick	0	6—10—0
Nathl Remick	1	29— 5—0
Parker Foster	1	21— 0—0
John Remick	1	2—18—0
Mark Staple	1	2— 0—0
Soloman Staple	1	9— 0—0
Thos Spinney	0	35— 0—0
Joseph Firnald	1	25— 0—0
Joseph Fernald Jr	1	14—16—0
Joshua Brooks	1	16—13—0
John Hanscom	1	20—16—0
Isaac Hill	0	5— 0—0
Capt. Peter Staple	1	44— 8—0
Peter Staple Junr	1	9— 8—0
George Rogers	3	26— 4—0
John Rogers	1	26— 4—0
John Dearing	1	18— 6—0
John Hammond	3	43— 0—0
Jonathan Hammond	1	32— 0—0

Andrew Green	1	4—10—0
Samuel Tobey	1	24—15—0
Stephen Tobey	1	28—13—0
Ephriam Libby & Son Ephriam	2	39—12—0
Sam^{ll} Libby	2	33— 1—0
Uriah Hanscom	1	———
Thomas Hanscom	1	20—18—0
Samuel Hanscom	1	10— 0—0
Thomas Hanscom Jr.,	1	11— 0—0
Abraham Cross	1	21—11—0
John Tobey	1	24—15—0
Aaron Hanscom	1	7—15—0
Joshua Staple	2	10— 0—0
Joseph Staple	2	24— 2—0
Joshua Staple Jr.	1	———
Joseph Staple Jr.	1	———
Widow Martha Libby	1	20— 0—0
Reuben Libby	1	18— 9—0
Matthew Libby	1	11—16—0
John Tobey Jun^{r}	1	2— 0—0
Noah Staple	1	11— 0—0
James Fogg	1	42— 6—0
James Fogg Jr	1	6— 0—0
George Hammond	1	37— 0—0
John Leighton	3	39— 0—0
Downing Woodman	1	31— 2—0
Joseph Hammond	2	45— 9—0
Samuel, Tobias and William Shapleigh	3	103—14—0
Thomas Hammond	1	———
Deac^{n} W^{m} Leighton	1	53—12—0
Wid^{w} Dorcas Shapleigh	2	102— 0—0
John Crocker	4	2— 0—0
Humphrey Scammon	2	10— 0—0
H^{y} Scammen for Odiornes farm	—	8— 0—0
Sam^{ll} Hill Jr	2	13— 8—0
Wid^{w} Patience More	1	1—10—0
Michal Kennard	0	7—10—0
Edward Kennard	1	8—18—0

Timothy Richardson	2	7— 0—0
Moses Hanscom	1	31—12—0
M[s] Hanscom for Moffetts Marsh	0	5— 0—0
Stephen Dixon	1	5— 0—0
Capt John Gowell	1	15— 0—0
Alexand[r] Shapleigh	1	23—16—0
John Brawn	1	0— 6—0
Will[m] Remick	1	4—10—0
John Seavey	1	4— 0—0
William Tetherly Jr	1	14—18—0
John Allen Jr	1	1—10—0
William Spinney	1	11—16—0
Samuel Kennard	1	1—10—0
Wid[w] Sarah Lydston	0	13— 0—0
Dennis Fernald	1	34— 0—0
Daniel Hanscom	1	11— 0—0
William Fernald	1	4—10—0
Joseph Hanscom	1	5—10—0
Gidion Knight	1	10— 5—0
Joseph Remick	1	1—10—0
Ichabod Remick	1	8— 0—0
Soloman Staple Jr	1	2— 0—0
Jacob Garland	1	3— 0—0
Samuel Pettegrew	1	4— 0—0
John Foster	1	3—10—0
Daniel Knight	2	9— 0—0
Enoch Remick	1	4—10—0
Jonathan Hanscom	1	4— 0—0
Joseph Paul	1	1—10—0
Jonathan Wittum	1	———
Daniel Toward	1	———
Wid[w] Elizab[h] Cole	1	1—10—0
Sipiran Marrener	1	———
William Mallalla	1	1—10—0
Ebenezer Hammond	1	———
Jeremiah Paul	0	5— 0—0
Isaac Reed	1	———
Isaac Reed Jr	1	———
David Staple	1	6— 2—0

Michal Kennard Jr	1	2—10—0
Benj[n] Welch	1	———
Tobias Leighton	1	———
John Brown	1	———
John Shapleigh	1	3— 0—0
John Hanscom Jr	1	———
Joshua Brook Jr	1	1—10—0
Joseph Hill Jun[r]	1	1—10—0
Samuel Tobey Jr	1	———
Stephen Tobey Jr	1	2— 0—0
John Orr	1	———

A perfecting List of the Polls and Estates in the upper Precinct in Kittery for the Year 1760.

	Polls.	Total Value.
Daniel Brown	0	3—10—0
Sam[l] Lord J[r] of Berwick	—	12— 0—0
Jonath[n] Hambleton of Berwick	—	9— 0—0
Samuel Shorey	—	26— 0—0
Daniel Furbush	—	16— 0—0
Wid[w] Sarah Furbush	1	6— 0—0
Joseph Furbush	1	25—10—0
Joseph Furbush Jr	1	2— 0—0
John Ferguson	1	———
John Furbush	1	9— 0—0
James Ferguson & Son Daniel	3	53— 0—0
Wid[w] Patience Neall	2	36— 0—0
Rich[d] Thackerly Jr Berwick	—	6— 0—0
James Neall	2	31—15—0
Eben[r] Hearl	1	25— 0—0
Sam[l] Roberts	0	5— 0—0
Benjamin Hearl	1	6— 0—0
Daniel Emery	1	46— 0—0
Simon Emery	3	50— 0—0
Capt. Noah Emery	1	23— 0—0

Danl Emery Jr	1	3— 0—0
Japhet Emery	1	6— 0—0
Zachariah Emery	1	13— 0—0
Caleb Emery	1	30— 0—0
Danl Emery Tertius	2	11— 0—0
Samuel Emery	1	9— 0—0
John Emery	1	6— 0—0
James Emery	1	7— 0—0
Zachh Emery Junr	—	1—10—0
Capt. James Gowen	1	54— 0—0
Benjamin Goold	1	27— 0—0
Danl Goold	1	4— 0—0
Benjn Goold Junr	1	5— 0—0
Joshua Weed	1	12— 0—0
Simon Lord	1	24— 0—0
James Ferguson Junr	1	5— 0—0
John Lord Berwick	—	2— 0—0
John Lord Tertis Berwick	—	11— 0—0
William Hight Berwick	—	4— 0—0
John Frost Esq	2	77— 0—0
Widw Abigail Hubbard	—	16— 2—0
Capt Charles Frost	1	70— 0—0
Widw Sarah Frost	0	50— 0—0
Simon Frost Esqr	2	45— 0—0
Capt Nathan Bartlet	2	43— 0—0
Tobias Leightons Estate	—	6— 0—0
Widw Jane Tucker	—	12— 0—0
James Tucker	—	6— 0—0
Nathan Bartlet Jr	1	———
Doct Edmd Coffin	1	24— 0—0
John Hd Bartlet	2	44—16—0
Richd Chick	1	24— 0—0
Thomas Chick	2	7—10—0
Isaac Chick	1	4— 0—0
Richd Chick Jr	1	———
James Smith	1	4— 0—0
William Smith Junr	1	2— 0—0
William Gowen	1	0— 0—0
William Gowen Jr	1	1—10—0

Rob^{t} Tidey	1	9— 8—0
James Davis	1	15— 0—0
Briant Davis	1	———
John Davis	1	14— 0—0
David & Nath^{l} Clark	2	45— 5—0
Moses Wittum	1	6— 0—0
Gatensbey Wittum	2	21— 0—0
Peter Wittum J^{r}	1	0— 0—0
Azariah Nason	1	24— 0—0
Alex^{r} Snow	1	7— 0—0
Timothy Wamouth	1	22— 0—0
Sam^{l} Stacey	1	24— 0—0
Wid^{w} Sarah Stacey	0	44— 0—0
John Tidey	—	23— 0—0
Joseph Goold Jun^{r}	1	35— 0—0
John Dennet J^{r}	1	18—10—0
Wid^{w} Abigail Dennet	—	11— 0—0
Susanna Dennet	—	3— 0—0
William Fry	1	25— 0—0
John Fry	1	4— 0—0
Ebenezer Fry	1	2— 0—0
Jonathan Fry	1	2— 0—0
Wid^{w} Sarah Fry	1	20— 0—0
Joseph Fry	2	15— 0—0
Elijah Allen	2	52— 0—0
Wid^{w} Mary Allen	—	6— 0—0
Wid^{w} Eliza Jinkins	—	11— 0—0
Wid^{w} Eliza Jinkins Jr	1	26— 0—0
John Morril	0	65— 0—0
Robert Morril	3	43— 0—0
Benj^{a} Hill	1	55— 0—0
John Hill	1	6— 0—0
Joseph Pilsberry	1	18— 0—0
Samuel Fernald	3	76— 0—0
John Stanly	1	14— 0—0
William Stanly	1	6— 0—0
Sam^{l} Fernald for Black Wills Estate		12— 0—0
Benjamin Patch	0	4— 0—0

Benjamin Patch Jr	1	———
John Patch	1	6— 0—0
Paul Patch	1	9— 0—0
John Cator	2	14— 0—0
Capt Ichabod Goodwin	—	4— 0—0
Bryant Bredean	1	6— 0—0
Henry Simpson	—	12— 0—0
Joseph Kingsbury	—	10— 0—0
Samuel Hill Esqr	2	43— 0—0
Joseph Hill	1	20— 0—0
Capt Alexr Raitt	1	59—18—0
James Johnson	1	4— 0—0
Lemuel Gowen	—	7— 0—0
John Hodsdon for Moffatts Estate		8 —0—0
Surplus Mars for Moffatts		38— 0—0
Michael Vaughan		4— 0—0
Lady Mary Pepperll		11— 0—0
John Stanly for part of Lady Pepperrells Land		11— 0—0
Abraham Lord	2	22— 0—0
Caleb Emery for Esqr Benja Chadbourn Estate		10— 0—0
Eleazer Ferguson	1	0— 0—0
Eleazer Ferguson Jr	1	8— 0—0
Samuel Hill	1	18— 0—0
Michael Brawn	1	3— 0—0
Widw Hannah Furbush	1	7— 0—0
Jonathan Moore	1	2— 0—0
Timothy Bredean	1	3— 0—0
Jeremh Paul	—	6— 0—0
John Tetherly	1	15— 0—0
Philip Hubburd	0	3— 0—0
John Hickey	1	2— 0—0
Andrew Mace	1	2— 0—0
John Hammond	1	0— 0—0
John Warren	1	4— 0—0
Pepperrell Frost	1	2— 0—0
Lewis Fry	1	0— 0—0

John Frost Jun^{r}	1	0— 0—0
Henry Black	1	10— 0—0
Nath^{l} Rogers	1	14— 0—0

On these lists women were given property valuation under the heading "Faculty," in addition to real and personal estates, and many men were doomed for their "Faculty Taxes." That tax was distinct from that on personal property. Since Maine became a State it has had no tax on faculty. Massachusetts has up to the present time. For the full meaning of the tax on faculty reference was made to an authority on such matters, Thomas Hills, Esq., of South Boston, Mass., and the following, dated January 20, 1899, is his answer to the inquiry:

In answer to yours of the 17th inst., I would say that all my investigations as to the faculty tax have satisfied me that it was intended to be a tax on ability — the power to earn money — and I can but think that the act of the assessors of Kittery of 1760 assessing the women of that town "a faculty tax" must have been an ignorant or arbitrary act not justified by law. Such failures to comply with what seems to be plain requirements of law are not uncommon in our day; as the Courts have ruled that many of the duties of the assessors, as defined by laws, are designed to produce uniformity and are directory, not mandatory; and a non-compliance with their provisions is not essential to the validity of a tax — and as it has also been held that a tax which was not assessed in the form required by law was nevertheless collectable. Much careless work can be found in the assessment lists of modern times which are presumably in better form than those of the last century.

The earliest definition of this tax I have met is in the law of the Colony of 1646, quoted by the Commissioners on Taxation, in the Mass. Report of 1875 (House Doc. 15 of that year) page 49—

"And for all such persons as, by the advantage of their acts and trades are more enabled to help bear the public charge than common laborers and workmen, as butchers, bakers, brewers, victualers, smiths, carpenters, taylors, shoemakers, joiners, barbers, millers and masons, with all other manual persons and artists, such are to be rated for returns and gains, proportionable unto other men, for the produce of their estates."

That in the early part of the 18th century faculty was not considered personal property may be inferred from the fact that the tax bill of Judge Sewall of Boston for 1726 which hangs in the office of the assessors of that city shows that he was taxed for "Personal Estate and faculty."

For several years I owned the tax return of Richard Gridley, the engineer who on the night of the 16th of June, 1775, staked out the line of the redoubt which the rebels defended the next day on Bunker Hill. I gave it away some time since. I think its date was 1780. The language of one of its items in the printed form called for a return of his income "from his trade or profession or gained by trading on the sea or land or arising from the necessities of the war." The call of the assessors of Boston to the inhabitants of that city in 1805 requires them to return "Income from profession, faculty, trade or employment, or gained by land or sea." I think you will find a good discussion of the subject by Judge Ames of the Supreme Judicial Court of Mass. in the case of Wilcox *v.* Middlesex, 103 Mass. 544.

The word "faculty" has in the revision of our laws dropped out of their text, but the faculty tax remains in Mass. The language now employed being that of Chapter II, Section 4, of the Public Statutes:

"Personal estate shall, for the purpose of taxation, include . . . . . so much of the income from a profession, trade or employment as exceeds the sum of two thousand dollars a year, and which has accrued to any person during the year ending on the first day of May of the year in which the tax is assessed, but no income shall be taxed which is derived from property subject to taxation."

Very truly yours,

THOMAS HILLS.

Wilcox *v.* Middlesex, 103 Mass. 544, referred to in the letter was a decision that it was legal to tax a member of a firm for his income above two thousand dollars for the year, after a tax had been assessed on the firm's stock on hand.

These original perfecting lists are owned by the Maine Historical Society.

CORRESPONDENCE PERTAINING TO PENOBSCOT

May 18, 1900, the late Hon. Joseph Williamson of Belfast read a paper before the Maine Historical Society entitled "The Proposed Province of New Ireland." This paper is published in Volume I of the 3d Series of the Society's Collections, pp. 147-157. Later Mr. Williamson presented to the Society the correspondence connected with the preparation of this paper and other matters of interest connected therewith. This correspondence is given below:

London, 24 March, 1900.

Joseph Williamson, Esq.,
Corresponding Secretary Maine Historical Society,
Belfast, Maine.

Dear Sir:

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th inst. requesting me to help you to obtain copies of certain papers in the private collections of the Marquis of Lansdowne and the Earl of Dartmouth. I shall have pleasure in doing the best I can to economically and promptly carry out your wishes.

The Marquis of Lansdowne is a Cabinet Minister, he being the Secretary of State for War, and both he and Earl Dartmouth are very active in their Parliamentary duties in the House of Lords. In these circumstances there may be some delay if not absolute difficulty in getting access to the two collections of papers.

I shall reply more fully to your letter when I shall have got the desired copies or some of them.

Your Obedient Servant,
B. F. Stevens.

London, 12 April, 1900.

Joseph Williamson, Esq.,
Corresponding Secretary Maine Historical Society,
Belfast, Maine.

Dear Sir:

In compliance with your request of March 8, the receipt of which has already been acknowledged, I take pleasure in replying that I am sending by the steamer taking this letter, in a separate packet by registered book post, addressed to you as this letter is addressed, the transcripts of the several desired Lansdowne and Dartmouth Documents.

For the one paper, Solicitor General's Report 1718, it was more convenient to get access to the original in the Public Record Office than to the copy of it in the Lansdowne Collection: hence the present transcript is from the original. As the use of ink is not permitted in the Reading Room of the Record Office the copy is made in pencil in conformity with the Official Regulations.

I have had the autographs on one of the Dartmouth papers traced in facsimile but I do not make any charge for this tracing.

Proffering my best services whenever I can be useful in London to your Society or to you personally,

I am, dear sir,
Yours faithfully
B. F. Stevens.

Belfast, Maine, Apr. 27, 1900.

B. F. Stevens, Esq.,
4 Trafalgar Square, W. C., London, England.

Dear Sir:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the sixth and twelfth instants, and also of a separate packet by registered book post, containing the transcripts of the desired Lansdowne and Dartmouth documents.

For your prompt and exhaustive attention in securing those

valuable contributions to our State history, please accept not only my personal thanks, but those of the Society which I represent.

I remain,

Faithfully yours,

JOSEPH WILLIAMSON,

Corresponding Secretary of the Maine Historical Society.

BELFAST, MAINE, Apr. 27, 1900.

B. F. STEVENS, ESQ.,

London, England.

DEAR SIR:

In 1888, I had the pleasure of a correspondence with you relative to annotating a pamphlet by Dr. John Calef upon "The Siege of Penobscot." The undertaking was interrupted by work in compiling "The Bibliography of Maine," which occupied all my leisure time for ten years thereafter, and by other avocations since. I now desire to resume it, and as a starting point, inclose your valued letter of July 23, 1888, of which I have retained a copy.

I wish to have a brief description of all the documents and correspondence pertaining to Penobscot to which you have access from the preparations for its occupation in the spring of 1779, to its evacuation in January, 1784, with an approximate estimate of the cost of copying each. Of course those concerning Calef and the government and the District of Penobscot generally, which I have just received, are to be excluded, as also those in your collection of unpublished manuscripts, 1772-1784, which I have already examined.

Upon knowing the expense incurred, I will remit the amount, and advise you about transcripts of such papers as seem necessary to my work.

I remain,

Faithfully yours,

JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

London, 23 July, 1888.

Joseph Williamson, Esq.,
Belfast, Maine.

Dear Sir:

I am to-day favoured with your letter of the 12th instant informing me that you are annotating a pamphlet by John Calef which appeared in 1781, and entitled "The Siege of Penobscot by the Rebels," and intimating you would like me to report upon the military and naval despatches concerning that event for an adequate compensation. You also tell me Penobscot was first occupied by British forces in June, 1779, and evacuated in January, 1784.

I am not quite sure whether you desire to limit the search for documents pertaining to the "Siege," or if you want to include the whole subject of Penobscot during the whole period of the occupation from the spring of 1779 until January, 1784.

Brig.-Gen. Francis McLean began his preparations to effect a settlement at Penobscot in May, 1779. He left Penobscot and arrived at Halifax 23 November, 1779. The command devolved on Lieut.-Col. John Campbell, 74th Regiment, who remained in command till appointed to Halifax in June, 1781, on the death of Gen. McLean.

I have not yet looked to see who succeeded Col. Campbell.

Do I understand you to ask for the titles of all documents and correspondence touching Penobscot by Gen. McLean, Col. Campbell, Capt. Mowat, Capt. Barkley and all others from 1779 to 1784? By the "Siege" I am sure you want to include an account of the American or Rebel Expedition from Boston and the account of Sir George Collier's Expedition to drive off the Rebels and to re-inforce Penobscot. Do you also want such titles as "Relation de l'expedition de Penobscot 1779 certifie par d'Estaing" under the Siege?

Do you want papers relating to Calef and the Government and District of Penobscot generally? For instance: — John Calef, Agent for the Territory of Penobscot, July 12, 1780, in his Petition to the King states that there were upwards of 16,000 souls within the Territory of Penobscot, destitute of Law and Gospel, the population is increasing with amazing rapidity and their Children are growing up as ignorant as the Heathen who dwell

among them. The prayer is to sever this district from Massachusetts, to erect it into a separate Government, to send a number of faithful Ministers of the established Church, well affected to Government, and to open post roads by way of Penobscot, from Halifax to Boston, and from Quebec to Boston, which could be travelled in summer in about twelve days; and also praying for a small sea force to protect this infant settlement in their cod and river fisheries and to procure Masts for the Royal Navy.

There are several papers relating to Calef and to his Charge of the Penobscot district. There are several Certificates or commendations of Calef. There is a State of the Inhabitants of Penobscot in March, 1782, and there are papers in 1782 relating to the advantage of establishing a post at Penobscot, which as it "is Centrical it would be the most proper place for the Capital or place to fix the Officers for a Civil Government."

I trouble you with these various points in order to emphasize my inquiry as to the scope of your work.

To make a search in several archives for the documents you may require and to give a short description of each paper so that you may see whether you want a transcript of it or not will require the work to be done by myself personally or by one of my most experienced Searchers and for this service I must charge you five shillings an hour, but if the total comes to more than ten pounds for searching I shall reduce the charges for further searchings to four shillings an hour. For transcribing and carefully comparing the copy the charge will be the usual four pence a folio.

Yours Faithfully
B. F. Stevens.

London, 23 May, 1900.

Joseph Williamson, Esq.,
Belfast, Maine.

Dear Sir:

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of April 27, enclosing the letter I had the pleasure to address to you 23 July, 1888.

I have begun the search for all documents and correspondence pertaining to Penobscot to which I have access from 1779 to January, 1784, in compliance with your request. I hope to be able to make the desired report in the course of June or July.

Yours faithfully,
B. F. Stevens.

London, 30 July, 1900.

Joseph Williamson, Esq.,
Belfast, Maine.

Dear Sir:

I crave your indulgence for a few days more. I hope to make the report upon the documents and correspondence pertaining to Penobscot, 1779-84, within the next fortnight or certainly in August. I regret having been unable to send the report in June or July as intimated in my letter of May 23. The work has been diligently carried on and I venture to think you will be very satisfied with the result.

Yours faithfully,
B. F. Stevens.

London, 7 August, 1900.

Joseph Williamson, Esq.,
Belfast, Maine.

Dear Sir:

I had the honour on May 23 to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of April 27 and expressed the hope that I might be able to report the result in the course of June or July upon the search for documents and correspondence pertaining to Penobscot, to which I have access, from 1779 to January, 1784.

On July 30 I reluctantly asked for a few days extension of the time for making this report.

I now have the pleasure to send it herewith in compliance with your request of April 27. I also send herewith the letter I addressed to you 23 July, 1888, which you sent back to me for more ready reference; and I enclose invoice for this present search and report.

The accompanying list contains more than 200 entries of documents preserved in several divisions of the Public Record Office, British Museum, Royal Institution, Lansdowne MSS., Sackville MSS., and in the Foreign Office and Marine Office, Paris.

In many cases only a small portion of a paper concerns Penobscot. These we have tried to indicate by the words "*mention only*" or similar note, but in all cases the number of pages or folios of the entire letter or paper is given.

When there has been some doubt as to the subject we have put "qy" against the paper.

Some papers in the British Museum, Additional Manuscripts (Holdimand Papers) and the Colonial Correspondence Quebec in the Record Office will be described in Dr. Douglas Brymner's Calendar for the Canadian Archives, but the present list being chronological these items are here included.

We have not attempted to trace all the references to Penobscot in Dr. Brymner's Calendars. This list is made from our own independent searches.

In accordance with your letter the papers lately supplied to you are not included in the present list.

In case you require a transcript of any of these papers the cost may be estimated to be about about twenty-five cents a page for such transcripts: — similar to the pages recently sent to you.

We are,
Dear Sir,
Your Obedient Servants,
B. F. Stevens & Brown.

Belfast, Maine, Nov. 14, 1900.

B. F. Stevens & Brown,
4 Trafalgar Square, London, W. C.

Gentlemen:

Please to cause copies to be made of the documents and correspondence pertaining to Penobscot, specified in the accompanying list of seven pages, formed from the title list received from you.

Official certificates of verification are unnecessary, and such portions of any document which has no bearing upon Penobscot may be omitted.

I should be pleased to have copies of the four letters from Capt. Mowat, designated by red marks on pages 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Under date of 31 May, 1780, General Heath wrote Washington as follows:

"Captain La Touche, of his most Christian Majesty's frigate, the Hermione, on her late cruise, ran into Penobscot Bay, where he lay some time, and took a plan of the works, which he has forwarded to the Minister at Philadelphia."

The minister at that time was the Chevalier de la Luzerne. A search in the Libraries of Congress, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Library Company of Philadelphia, gives no clew to it. Equally ineffectual was an examination at the National Archives in Paris. Can you suggest any other place of inquiry?

Between the provisional agreement of peace with Great Britain in November, 1782, and the formal treaty of the following September, Massachusetts demanded the expulsion of the British from Penobscot, and several pamphlets are said to have been written upon the subject. "I should be glad to see the better class of pamphlets you mention, and particularly some to show the policy and necessity of an immediate evacuation of Penobscot," wrote John Adams from Paris in 1783 to Benjamin Vaughan.

What were such pamphlets? I have never discovered any indication of these in four catalogues of Americana.

Faithfully yours,

JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

LONDON, 7 Dec., 1900.

JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, ESQ.,

Corresponding Secretary of the Maine Historical Society,
Belfast, Maine.

DEAR SIR:

We have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of Nov. 19 and we shall gladly comply with your instructions to cause copies to be made of the required documents.

We shall have pleasure in forwarding the four Mowat letters without unnecessary delay.

Luzerne's letters to Vergennes are preserved in the Archives of the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris. The desired plan of the Fort at Penobscot does not exist in the French Foreign Office as a separate document and an examination of Luzerne's letters in May, June, and July, 1780, do not mention the plan as an enclosure. The Log or Journal of the "Hermione" is in the Archives de la Marine. An extract of a dozen or twenty pages will cover the time from La Touche leaving Boston on the cruise as far as Penobscot. This extract will include a description of the Fort at Penobscot from information brought to La Touche by an American lieutenant. The Officer "delivered to me the plan of the English Fort." The wind being unfavourable La Touche seems to have set sail and went to Biguaduce where he "parfaitement" observed the Fort and recognized all that had been told him. We shall venture to make an extract of these exceedingly interesting particulars for you.

We are making inquiries about the pamphlets relating to Massachusetts' demand for the expulsion of the British from Penobscot and will report later.

Yours faithfully,
B. F. Stevens & Brown.

London, 10 Dec., 1900.
The Sheaves, Surbiton.

Joseph Williamson, Esq.,
Corresponding Secretary of the Maine Historical Society,
Belfast, Maine.

Dear Sir:

At the moment I have found the titles of only two Penobscot pamphlets.

1. The Siege of Penobscot by the Rebels containing a Journal of the Proceedings of His Majesty's Forces, &c., London, 1781. Title and forty-four pages and two charts on one sheet. You will find the full title in Sabin, 9,925. The author, "J. C. Esq., a Volunteer," was John Calef. A perfect copy was recently

sold in London for £12-10. The large plan contains chart of the Peninsular of Majabagwaduce and of Penobscot River.

2. Proceedings of General Assembly of Massachusetts relating to the Penobscot Expedition with report of Committee on the failure of said Expedition. No imprint, twenty-six pages, small quarto, 1780. You will find this title in Brinley's Catalogue as No. 1,539. In case you do not find these two pamphlets in the Harvard library, or in one of the Boston libraries, I suggest that you apply to the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, or to the Lenox Library, New York.

Yours faithfully,
B. F. Stevens.

London, 11 Dec., 1900.

Joseph Williamson, Esq.,
Corresponding Secretary of the Maine Historical Society,
Belfast, Me.

Dear Sir:

We send you by registered book-post the four letters asked for in advance. The two from the Captains' Letters series are in pencil, the use of ink not being allowed in the more public reading room at the Record Office.

The other transcripts are being proceeded with.

Yours faithfully,
B. F. Stevens & Brown.

Belfast, Maine, U. S. A., Dec. 26, 1900.

B. F. Stevens & Brown,
4 Trafalgar Square, London, W. C.

Gentlemen:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your favours of the seventh and eleventh instants, and also transcripts of the four Mowat letters, the latter arriving to-day by registered book-post.

I am much pleased to learn about the Log or Journal of the Hermione, and hope soon to receive the extracts mentioned. They will undoubtedly prove of great value in my work.

Faithfully yours,
Joseph Williamson.

Belfast, Maine, U. S. A., December 26, 1900.

Mr. Benjamin F. Stevens,
The Sheaves, Surbiton.

Dear Sir:

Please accept my thanks for your note concerning the two Penobscot pamphlets.

That by John Calef is the one which I am writing for the Maine Historical Society. The prices which copies have brought in this country may be found in my Bibliography of Maine, 1: 277.

The Proceedings of the General Assembly, &c., is familiar to me.

I think that the pamphlets mentioned by John Adams in 1783, did not relate to the siege of Penobscot but concerned the refusal of England to surrender possession of the fort long after the treaty of peace, under a plea that it was embraced within the limits of Nova Scotia. A close touch for many years with your American catalogues, and with Sabin, has failed to discover any of their titles.

Faithfully yours,
Joseph Williamson.

London, 9 Jan., 1901.

Joseph Williamson, Esq.,
Secretary of the Maine Historical Society,
Belfast, Maine.

Dear Sir:

We have the pleasure to send you by registered book-post the remaining transcripts asked for on your list, and being in receipt of your favour of Dec. 26 we include that of the Journal of the French frigate "Hermione."

You will notice that in one case two or three transcripts have been bored through and tied with blue ribbon, as well as marked and soiled. This is explained by the Record Office regulations to submit documents of certain dates to the Colonial Office from which office they were returned in this condition.

We have not instituted a search for the logs of the ships mentioned in this Penobscot expedition but they may be in existence

in the Admiralty Division of the Record Office should you at any time desire to have them examined for the period.

We remain,
Yours faithfully,
B. F. Stevens & Brown.

London, 24 Oct., 1901.

Joseph Williamson, Esq.,
Belfast, Maine.

Dear Sir:

In answer to your request for copies of the "view, plan and profile of the fort of Penobscot and sketch of the neck and harbour of Majabagwaduce" we regret to say that they are not now amongst the manuscripts of the Royal Institution. On the chance of their having landed in the Public Record Office we have examined the map catalogue there as well as at the British Museum, but though there are several maps or plans of the surrounding and the district there is nothing to answer the description of Brig.-Gen. Campbell.

We repeat our regret for our non-success and inclose invoice for the time spent in the search.

Inclosed you will also find the duly receipted account for £8-10, the money order for which we hereby acknowledge with thanks.

Yours faithfully,
B. F. Stevens & Brown.

Belfast, Maine, U. S. A., November 6, 1901.

B. F. Stevens & Brown,
4 Trafalgar Square, London, W. C., England.

Gentlemen:

I am in receipt of your favor of the 24th ult., and beg to inclose an international money order for the amount of the account therein contained

I appreciate the value of your efforts at the Royal Institution, Public Record Office and British Museum for the view, plan and profile of the fort of Penobscot, and sketch of neck and and harbor of Majabagwaduce, transmitted with a letter from John Campbell, brigadier-general from Halifax, under date of 26th June, 1782.

It seems hardly possible that so important a document has been lost or destroyed. As it would be of the highest value in the work upon which I am engaged, I beg that a further search may be prosecuted in all other governmental departments to which you have access. May it not be preserved in the archives of the Foreign Office, Colonial Secretary or Secretary for War?

I remain,

Faithfully yours,

JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

LONDON, Jan. 15, 1902.

JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, ESQ.,
Corresponding Secretary Maine Historical Society,
Belfast, Maine.

DEAR SIR:

Your letter of November 6 was duly received and we thank you for your remittance of £6 in payment of our invoice of October 24, which we return receipted with best thanks. We regret the delay in writing to you, but in the meantime we have been making further enquiries and searches for the "View, plan and profile of the fort of Penobscot, and sketch of Neck and Harbor of Majabagwaduce," transmitted with a letter from John Campbell, B. Genl. from Halifax, under date of 26th June, 1782, but we regret to say without success. The last hope we had of finding it was in the collection of maps in the Office of the Inspector General of Fortifications, but we regret to say we have to-day received a letter from the War Office, stating that a search has been made and that it is regretted that no such plan can be found. All the Archives of the Foreign Office and Colonial Office of the time mentioned are deposited in the Public Record Office and search has already been made there, so that we regret

we cannot think of any further place where a search would be of any use.

Always at your service and awaiting your further orders,

We are, dear sir,

Yours faithfully,

B. F. Stevens & Brown.

Belfast, Maine, U. S. A., January 31, 1902.

B. F. Stevens, Esq.,

4 Trafalgar Square, W. C., London, England.

Gentlemen:

Your favor of the 15th inst. is received, and I beg to return my thanks for your continued efforts to obtain the view, &c., of the fort of Penobscot, which was transmitted in 1782 to Sir Henry Clinton.

While I presume that your researches among the Clinton papers in the Royal Institution was exhaustive, the following communication from Mr. P. Lee Phillips, Chief of the Map Division, Library of Congress, under date of the 24th inst., may be of interest to you as showing the disposition of a portion of the collection.

[This letter did not accompany Mr. Williamson's manuscript.]

I desire to obtain a transcript of an opinion given by Attorney-General Wedderburn, in 1781, that the province of New Ireland could not be established without infringing upon the charter rights of the Massachusetts Bay. It may have appeared in some printed volume. Possibly Knox: Extra Official State Papers, Vol. 2, Appendix, gives some clew to where it may be found.

Kindly investigate this matter and oblige,

Yours faithfully,

Joseph Williamson.

London, 19 March, 1902.

Joseph Williamson, Esq.,

Corresponding Secretary Maine Historical Society,

Belfast, Maine.

Dear Sir:

The answer to your letter of the 5th February, received on the 18th, has been delayed first by illness amongst our staff, and,

more recently, by the great loss we have sustained in the death of Mr. Stevens.

The "opinion of Attorney-General Wedderburn in 1781 that the province of New Ireland could not be established without infringing upon the charter rights of Massachusetts Bay" desired by your letter, we do not seem fortunate enough to find. We expected to identify it readily amongst the Colonial Records in the Public Record Office, but have not succeeded.

At your suggestion we tried Wm. Knox's Extra Official State Papers, Vol. II, Appendix, but he only alludes to it in words to this effect: That the ministers entertained the purpose of the new colony until the Attorney General refused his concurrence because of the lands being included in the Massachusetts Bay Charter.

Chalmer's Opinions of Eminent Lawyers has also been looked at.

At the Record Office there have also been examined the Law Officers Records Home Office, Treasury Solicitor and Treasury, but to no purpose. We ought to add that there is one volume of Home Office Law-papers which has not been examined, as it is in use by the Government and so is withdrawn from public inspection.

We have in our possession a copy of a paper on the same subject taken from the Lansdowne House Collection. *It is not dated nor signed*, but seems to be an official opinion, and on the chance of its being of interest to you we send you herewith a transcript which we beg you will accept.

We enclose account for the time spent in searching and regret much that we have been unable to find it. One of the officials at the Record Office remarks: "The Entry Books of Law Officers were very badly kept up, and it is not surprising we find nothing." Is it absolutely certain, also, that the "opinion" was a written one?

Yours faithfully,
B. F. Stevens & Brown.

Belfast, Maine, U. S. A., April 21, 1902.

B. F. Stevens & Brown,
4 Trafalgar Square, London, W. C., England.

Gentlemen:

Your letter of March 19th was duly received, and I beg to

inclose a postal money order for five dollars in payment of the account which accompanied it.

The death of Mr. Benjamin F. Stevens is much deplored in America. The services which he has rendered his native country can never be too highly estimated; while his elaborate collection of fac-simile manuscripts constitute an enduring monument to his memory.

I am inclined to think that the copy which you favored me with entitled an answer to the question, "What claims have the province of Massachusetts Bay to the province of Maine," &c., must be the opinion of Attorney-General Wedderburn upon the subject. But as it is unsigned, I cannot understand upon what authority the late E. B. O'Callaghan, in Historical Magazine, I: 55, attributed it to him.

In the April number of the American Historical Review, it is stated that Mr. Stevens was engaged in making a calendar of the papers of Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Guy Carleton. May not the plan of Fort Penobscot, for which you have searched be in these collections? It was sent to Sir Henry from Halifax, in 1782.

The Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson (London, 1886), Vol. 2, page 217, under date of Sept. 1, 1775, mentions a letter from Lord George Germaine to Sir Henry Clinton, directing him to take possession of Penobscot. Please to cause a search for this letter to be made, and if found, a copy.

At the close of the Revolution, official letters concerning the British evacuation of Penobscot passed between Sir Guy Carleton, Washington and the Governor of Massachusetts. Will you kindly cause a search for them to be made among the papers of the former? I have a memorandum that the report of one Watson upon the matter was made to him, which I should be glad to know of.

During the second war with England in 1814, Penobscot was again occupied and held by a British force. A tradition exists that they restored the military works there from the Revolutionary plans which they had. If this is correct, perhaps the papers of that period may include it.

Faithfully yours,

JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

London, 23 May, 1902.

Joseph Williamson, Esq.,
Belfast, Maine, U. S. A.

Dear Sir:

By this mail we send you copy of the letter from Lord George Germaine to Sir Henry Clinton, dated 2 September, 1778, which directs the occupation of Penobscot and which we think is the one you require. Sir Henry Clinton's dispatch No. 35, 8 January, 1779, acknowledging these directions, amongst other subjects, is given in Mr. Stevens's Facsimiles (No. 1240, Vol. XII.) which you are probably acquainted with in the Maine State Library.

With regard to the copy of the document we sent to you recently, entitled: "What Claims have the Province of Massachusetts Bay to the country between Nova Scotia and New Hampshire," we would wish to make it clear that we do not put it forward in any way as the actual opinion of Attorney-General Wedderburn mentioned by Knox in his Extra Official State Papers and enquired for by Mr. O'Callaghan in the Historical Magazine 1: 55. This is supposed to begin in too colloquial a style for a formal legal opinion. On the other hand it takes the usual form of Question and Answer of such opinions and may have been an informal one, by whom we could not say. As the paper is in the private collection of the Marquess of Lansdowne, by whose courtesy Mr. Stevens was allowed some years ago to copy this and other papers, we think few persons besides Mr. Stevens have ever seen it or acquired a copy.

The official letters concerning the British evacuation of Penobscot which passed between Sir Guy Carleton, Washington, and the Governor of Massachusetts, for which you ask us to search, were included in the list of papers touching Penobscot you ordered from us and copies of them sent to you last year. They are dated 3 October, 1783. You will be acquainted with other references in Sparks's Writings of Washington. We are sorry we cannot identify the report of *one Watson* to which you allude.

The papers of Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Guy Carleton, on the Calendar of which Mr. Stevens was engaged, as mentioned in the American Historical Review, are the papers preserved in

the Royal Institution. This calendar will be published by the Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission. As you know, we have already searched these Royal Institution Manuscripts for the missing plan of Penobscot.

We fear that the tradition of the restoration of the works in 1814, from revolutionary plans, is rather too indefinite to lead to any success. We have already examined the catalogue of collected maps and plans preserved in the Public Record Office, without result.

Yours faithfully,
B. F. Stevens & Brown.

AN OLD JOURNAL

BY REV. EVERETT S. STACKPOLE, D.D.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 31, 1899

In searching the Massachusetts Archives for historical and genealogical material I stumbled upon the following curious old journal, which throws a little light upon the frontier history of Maine in the time of the last Indian War.

"North yarmouth July 31, 1755.

Acording to his Excelencies orders I have kept As exact A Jornal of our proceedings which is as followeth As Things Would Admit of .Kept Pr Me John Stackpole Liu^tt^

July 3 Thursday.	Marched from Biddeford to Falmouth.
" 4 Friday.	Marched to Northyarmouth Wheair I rec'd Provisions.
" 5 Saturday.	Marched to New boston.
" 6 Sonday	Scouted Round the forte.
" 7 /Monday	Sot out for Ammascogin. Camped in about two miles of the River.
" 8 Tuesday.	Marched Down the River About Seven Mile Then ambushed the River Secretly Made No Descovery.
" 9 Wednesday.	Returned to New boston Making No Descovery.
" 10Thursday	I marched with parte of the men towards Ammascogin So Round to New gloster So to Riols River and Returned Making no Discovery the Capt With the Rest of the Men Scouted Round the forte Eachway Making no Discovery no Way.
July 11 Friday	Sent ten men After Provision The Remainder Marched to Riols River With

		Capt Beverag to Search the proprietors provision.
"	12 Satterday	After the Retorn of the ten Men I Marched Down to Northyarmouth.
"	13 Sonday.	I Kept Sabouth at Northyarmouth.
"	14 Monday.	took Provision and Marched fore miles towardes Bronswick.
"	15 Tues.	Marched to Bronswick Maid no Discovery.
"	16 Wednsday	Crossed the River Marched to Cathance threw the Woods.
"	17 Thirsday.	Marched to Richmond Maid no Discovery.
"	18 Friday.	Toock Provisions and at the Request of Capt Lithgow caried Mr Willard up to forte Westron Parte of the Men Marched for New gloster.
"	19 Satterday	Went with hin to halifax to garde up the Droven Oxen.
"	20 Sonday	Returned to forte Westron so to Richmond.
"	21 Mon.	to Topsom.
"	22 Tuesday.	To Northyarmouth the other Scout got in to New gloster.
"	23 Wednsday	Went to New boston. Met the Men Returning Left Son (sic. Some?) to garde the forte Marched the Rest to Northyarmouth Maid no Discovery No way.
"	24 Thirsday	toock Provision and Retorned about fore Miles towardes New boston.
"	25 Friday	Marched up to New boston.
"	26 Satterday	Marched towardes Ammascogin.
"	27 Sonday	Lay by Maide No Descovery.
"	28 Monday	Sot our cose for New gloster.
"	29 Tues.	Caim in to New gloster.
"	30 Wednsday	Scouted Round at Night Caim in to New boston.
"	31 Thirsday	Marched Towardes Ammascogin So to Northyarmouth."

This Journal was addressed to "Secty Josiah Willard at Boston, on his Majesty's Servis."

It seems that John Stackpole was lieutenant in the command of Captain "Beverag" (Beveridge?) This troop consisted of ninety men, whose duty it was to search the country lying between New Boston, or Gray, and the Kennebec River. Alluding to this scouting party, Mr. William Goold in an article on Fort Halifax published in Vol. VIII of Collections of Maine Historical Society, p. 266, says: "This body of troops probably marched through what is now Pownal, Freeport and Brunswick and embarked on the Androscoggin and thence by Merrymeeting Bay to the Kennebec." This Journal shows that they did not embark, but marched through the woods by way of Cathance, now Bowdoinham. During this same year, 1755, some whale-boats were provided for carrying provisions up to Fort Western, but in the winter previous, my great-grandfather, Capt. David Dunning, of Brunswick, with his militia hauled provisions on the ice, with hand-sleds, from Arrowsic to Fort Western.

Lieut. John Stackpole was born, probably in York, Me., in 1708. He was the son of Lieut. John and Elizabeth (Brown) Stackpole, grandson of James and Margaret (Warren) Stackpole, who were living in what is now Rollinsford, N. H., in 1680. The John Stackpole of this journal married, November 30, 1731, Bethiah, daughter of Joseph and Abigail Young of York, Me. His father moved to Biddeford, near Winter Harbor, in 1717. John Jr., of this

sketch was deacon of the first Congregational Church of Biddeford and was commissioned lieutenant by Gov. William Shirley in 1755 "for killing and captivating the Indian enemy," as the Commission still preserved reads. A writer in the New England Historical Register has erroneously attributed this journal to the elder Lieut. John Stackpole. The handwriting is different, especially in the signatures, and the elder Lieut. John Stackpole was at this time probably about seventy-five years of age, too old for such military service. Lieut. John Stackpole, Jr., was one of the Selectmen of Biddeford in 1746, 1750 and 1751. He died in Biddeford, December 2, 1796, leaving four sons and four daughters.

I have reproduced the arrangement, spelling and punctuation of the original manuscript. Captain Lithgow and Sec. Joseph Willard, alluded to incidentally, are well-known historical characters.

AN OLD-TIME BURIAL GROUND

BY SAMUEL T. DOLE

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 31, 1899

At what time a public cemetery was laid out in Windham, I have not been able to ascertain. The late Thomas L. Smith, in his town history, says: "The first persons buried in Windham were buried on home lot No. 32, about twenty rods from Presumpscot River, they are the first wife of Stephen Manchester, a brother of hers and a child." Mrs. Manchester was Grace Farrow, and there is undisputed documentary evidence to prove that her father, John Farrow, and his wife Bethia, are also buried on the same lot. Mr. Smith also says: "The Smith Cemetery in District, No. 1. contains the remains of nearly all the first settlers in the town," and he goes on to say that the Rev. John Wight, first settled minister, was the first person there interred. This cemetery is on the lot that belonged to Mr. Wight, and is near the site of his ancient sanctuary and the old Province fort. It may be true that he was the first person buried there, but it does not seem at all probable to me that such is the case. Mr. Wight was settled as pastor on December 14, 1743, and from that time until his death, which occurred May 8, 1753, he kept a record of the births, deaths and baptisms that took place among his little flock. The

first death entered on the church book is as follows: "Elijah, the son of John and Deliverance Wight, died Oct. 24, 1745, aged about two months and nineteen days." This entry is in Mr. Wight's hand-writing and is doubtless correct. Now it is more than probable that this child was buried on his father's own land and that ten years later the father was laid to rest beside the remains of his beloved son. The church records contain the names of sixteen additional persons who died previous to Mr. Wight's decease, all of whom were probably here interred, as no record or even tradition points to any other burial ground then existing in the settlement. So it is probable that with the interment of this infant the real history of this old-time "God's acre" in Windham, begins. Indeed an old tradition is to this effect, and is believed to be true. The names of these sixteen persons were as follows: "Othniel, the son of Othniel and Hannah Tripp, died Nov. 20, 1744. William, the son of Thomas and Bethia Mayberry, died Apr. 26, 1745. Bathshua, daughter of Abraham and Bathshua Anderson, died Nov. 13, 1745, aged 13. Hannah, the wife of William Knights, died Mar. 2, 1746-7, aged 36. Isaac, son of Abraham and Bathshua Anderson, died Mar. 7, 1746-7. Roger, the son of Zerubbabel and Hannah Hunnewell, died Nov. 12, 1747. aged 7. John, son of Thos. and Bethia Mayberry, died Aug. 27, 1748, aged 5 months. Abraham, the son of Abraham and Bathshua Anderson, died Oct. 22, 1748, aged 1, year 11 months, Elizabeth, the daughther of Nathaniel and

Elizabeth Starbird, died May 17, 1749. Josiah, the son of Sam^{ll}. and Bethia Webb, died Nov. 3, 1749, aged 5. Gershom Manchester, died Mar. 15, 1749-50. aged 62. Abigail, the daughter of John and Hannah Farrow, died 1753. Bathshua, the wife of Abraham Anderson, died July 4, 1751. Ephraim, the son of Ephraim and Mehitable Winship, died Aug. 27, 1751. Miriam, the daughter of Joseph and Mary Starling, died Sept. 4, 1751, aged 7 months 12 days. Mehitable, the wife of Ephraim Winship, died Apr. 17, 1750, aged 44."

None of these persons have headstones, and the pastor's record is their only memorial. The remaining entries in the old book are in the handwriting of Deacon Thomas Chute, by which it appears that from the last entry made by Mr. Wight in 1750 to 1762, but seven persons died in the settlement; they were as follows: "Ye Rev. Mr. John Wight, died May ye 8, 1753. Seafair, wife of Stephen Manchester, died Dec. 12, 1753. bulah, ye wife of Micah Walker, died May 29, 1755. John and Comfort Manchester had a son died about a *fourtnit oald*," but no date of the event is anywhere given. "Perses Farrow, wife to Mr. John Farrow, died May 12, 1758. Rebecca Dennis, died 1758. Mary, ye wife of Tho^{s} Chute, died July 30, 1762 in ye 70th year of her age, and is greatly lamented not only in her own family but by all who had any acquaintance with her." These persons were all doubtless buried in the same cemetery with the first mentioned seventeen. None, however, have headstones with the one exception of Mr. Wight.

From 1758 to 1762, if any record of deaths was kept, it is lost to our knowledge, but in the last named year the Rev. Peter T. Smith was settled pastor of the church and to him we are indebted for a continuance of the records begun by his predecessor, which he kept carefully until his dismissal in 1790, a period of more than twenty-eight years. Since that time it has been customary for the pastors of the Congregational Church to keep a record of the funerals attended by them and it has been frequently the case that the historian has been compelled to rely on them for data that it was found impossible to obtain elsewhere. The town historian is correct in saying that this cemetery "contains the remains of nearly all the early settlers of the town," as it is by far the oldest public burial ground in Windham, but why it is called "The Smith Cemetery" seems to us somewhat singular. It is located on home lot No. 33, which was set apart for the first settled minister, and, in virtue of the grant, became the private property of Mr. Wight. He laid out the original plot as a burial place for himself and the people of the settlement, and it would seem proper that it should bear his name rather than that of the second minister, but the wisdom of our ancestors gave the name, and so let it remain.

As first laid out, the yard was quite limited in size; but, as the population increased, it was enlarged at the public expense at different times; also, in 1854, the Hon. John Anderson purchased a valuable addition of land on which he erected a massive

granite tomb and generously donated the remainder of the land to his native town.

The additions made at different times have been so arranged that the original plot laid out by Mr. Wight now occupies the central part of the yard and is in a neglected condition comparing unfavorably with the surrounding lots, almost all of which are finely kept, tended by loving hands and provided with suitable headstones. Still, in this neglected spot moulders the dust of the founders of this town, and it is a reproach to their descendants that some measures are not taken to properly grade the lot, erect thereon a suitable monument inscribed with the names of as many of these old worthies as can with certainty be ascertained, so that they may be known to future generations. Most surely it is a debt we owe to the memory of those sturdy men and women, who, leaving well ordered homes in the older settled parts of New England came to this wilderness, and by stubborn and persistent courage subdued the wild beasts, cleared the primeval forest, taught the savage redman to respect their prowess and by a bloody sacrifice left for us a goodly heritage.

Hardly any of these graves have any headstones save that here and there one may be seen with rough field stones at the head and foot, while the mounds reared by affectionate hands have in most cases sunk below the surrounding surface, and the whole is overrun by weeds and trailing wild vines. But tradition and family records give us many names, among whom are William Mayberry, the second settler of

Windham, and his wife Bathsheba Dennis; Nathaniel Evans, one of the few grantees who settled here; Ezra Brown, who was slain by Chief Polin on that eventful May morning 1756. Ephraim Winship, a native of Lexington, Mass., who was so roughly handled in the same fight, being twice wounded and twice scalped, yet lived to die quietly in his bed several years afterwards, and his wife, Mehitable, are here interred; also, William Bolton, who was captured by the Indians, August 27, 1747; while near him sleeps Lieutenant Wallace, to whom Bolton after his capture was for some time a servant, and who was found by him several years afterwards wandering aimlessly about the streets of Portland, old, poor and friendless. Bolton took him home, cared for him tenderly, and, when he died, gave him a Christian burial. Here, too, lies Capt. Thomas Trott, a brave officer of the Revolution, and near him John Mayberry, who enlisted when only sixteen years of age and served in the Bagaduce Campaign; Capt. Caleb Graffam, a noted citizen of the town, and his wife, Lois Bennett; Abraham Anderson, 2d, second of the name, also a soldier of the War for Independence; William Elder, Benjamin Bodge, John Mugford, Richard Hunnewell, Samuel Tobin, with many others whose names are not known, who served their country in its hour of peril. There are several soldiers of the War of 1812 interred in this cemetery, among them Josiah Freeman, Stephen Webb, William Ingersoll and Ephraim Winship, Jr.

Several soldiers of the Rebellion have here found a resting-place, mostly sons of Windham citizens, and their graves are each year decorated by the hands of their surviving companions in arms.

During the latter years of his life, after he had laid aside the cares of his pastorate, the Rev. Peter T. Smith erected a family tomb, in which he and his family are interred. The following names are inscribed on the tablet, but it is believed that there are others who have no mention: "Rev. Peter T. Smith, died Oct. 24, 1826, aged 95 yrs. Mrs. Elizabeth Wendell, wife of Rev. Peter T. Smith, died Oct. 16, 1799, aged 57. Thomas Smith, died — 27, 1802, aged 33 yrs. Rebecca Smith, died Oct. 31, 1808, aged 25 years. Ann W., wife of Charles Barker, died Mar. 21, 1832, aged 50 years. Hezekiah Smith, died July 15, 1824, aged 70 years. Sally, wife of Hezekiah Smith, died Jan. 3, 1854, ag^{d} 88 years. Abraham Anderson, died Sept. 3, 1844, aged 86 years, his wife, Lucy Smith, died Apr. 14, 1844, aged 74 years. Mary Cloutman, died Dec. 2, 1821, aged 77 years. She was the daughter of Edward Cloutman who was captured by the Indians on their attack on Gorham, Apr. 19, 1746. Jane Hunt, second wife of Rev. Peter T. Smith, died Apr. 20, 1824, aged 70 years. Olive A. Anderson, died Oct. 22, 1843, aged 19 years. Susan M. Anderson, died Aug. 14, 1849, aged 18 years. Peter S. Anderson, born in 1789, died in 1867. Susan Bodge, wife of Peter Anderson, died Mar., 1876. Elizabeth Anderson, born 1811, died in 1893." I have

previously alluded to the family tomb of the Hon. John Anderson in this yard; it is a strongly built and capacious vault and contains only the family of the builder. On the tablets appear the following inscriptions: "Hon. John Anderson, son of Abraham and Lucy Smith Anderson, born on the home farm, July 29, 1792, died in Portland, Aug. 21, 1853. Mrs. Ann Williams Jameson, wife of John Anderson, born Oct. 14, 1804, died May 13, 1879. Edward Anderson, M. D., son of John and Ann Williams Jameson Anderson, born Dec. 9, 1829, died Sept. 5, 1861. Frances A., wife of Edward Anderson, M. D., died —, 1870. John Farwell Anderson, son of John and Ann Williams Jameson Anderson, died Dec. 25, 1887, aged 63 years."

In 1872, an organization known as the "Union Circle," composed of ladies living in the south part of Windham, erected in this cemetery a receiving tomb, which they donated to the town; but as it has been rarely used, it is now rapidly falling to decay, and if some means are not taken for its preservation, it will soon be a complete ruin. To most of the people of Windham this old burial place is rendered sacred by many sad recollections, yet it is one of the most interesting spots in the town, and almost every old family among us is here represented. Here sleep the ancestors of whose memory we have a right to be proud and whom we have been taught to reverence; here are our fathers and mothers, our brothers and sisters; and here we of recent years have brought our children for burial, that their dust might mingle

with those gone before. Here sleep, side by side, all that is mortal of those whose toils and sacrifices in the dark period of the first settlement of this town, rendered smooth and easy the pathway of their descendants. May we then strive to emulate their virtues and keep green the memory of their heroic deeds.

In addition to the names mentioned in this paper, I have carefully copied the inscriptions on all the headstones in this cemetery.

Inscriptions on headstones in "Smith Cemetery," collected by Samuel T. Dole:

> "Beneath those rugged elms that yew trees shade,
> Where heaves the turf in many a mouldering heap,
> Each in his narrow cell forever laid,
> The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep."

In memory of ye Rev. Mr. John Wight, who departed this life May ye 8, 1753 in the 55th year of his age.

Robert Wier, died Aug. 30, 1835 aged 60 years.

Polly, wife of Robert Wier, died Jan. 12, 1846, aged 75 years.

Mrs. Hannah Graffam, died Sept. 11, 1764, aged 43 years.

Sarah, wife of Ezra Brown, died Dec. 2, 1798, aged 41 years, 9 months.

Mr. Ezra Brown, died Mar. 21, 1826, aged 76 years.

Mrs. Lois Graffam died Jan. 12, 1804, aged 43 years — *Sub terra quies in cello vita.*

Capt. Caleb Graffam, died Nov. 11, 1784, aged 73 years —

Departe dear friends dry up your tears,
My dust lies here till Christ appears.

John Elder, died May 15, 1828, aged 76 years.

Dorcas Elder, died Nov. 20, 1833, aged 30 years.

Silas Elder, died Sept. 16, 1841, aged 72 years, 6 months.

Lois Graffam, daughter of Capt. Peter Graffam of New Gloucester, died May 21, 1798, aged 19 years.

Charity Mayberry, died Apr. 23, 1855, aged 75 years, 10 months.

Jane Mayberry, died Nov. 25, 1851, aged 82 years.

Francis Cobby, died Sept. 3, 1849, aged 32 years.

Joseph Cobby, died Apr. 21, 1837, aged 55 years.

Rebecca, wife of Joseph Cobby, died Aug 30, 1863, aged 80 years.

Mrs. Eleanor Cobby, died Mar. 31, 1810, aged 101 years.

Mr. John Cobby, died July 14, 1821, aged 72 years.

Mrs. Abigail, wife of John Cobby, died Feb. 1, 1812, aged 64 years.

Mr. Samuel Mayberry, died Nov. 16, 1811, aged 37.

Charlotte J., wife of Daniel Mayberry, died Dec. 4, 1850, aged 37 years, 9 months.

James Mayberry, died Oct. 3, 1856, aged 67 years.

Sally, wife of James Mayberry, died Mar. 21, 1864, aged 73 years.

Mr. William Elder, died Aug. 8, 1767, aged 58 years.

Mr. William Elder, Jun., died Oct. 20, 1799, aged 74 years.

Rebecca Elder, widow of John Elder, died Oct. 5, 1829, aged 70 years.

Abigail, wife of Silas Elder, died June 3, 1853, aged 82 years, 5 months.

Lois Elder, died June 10, 1874, aged 73 years.

Caleb Elder, died Jan. 22, 1885, aged 72 years.

Sally, wife of John Mayberry, died July 22, 1869, aged 86 years.

Caroline B. Mayberry, died Aug. 5, 1843, aged 21 years.

Alvin Mayberry, died Aug. 22, 1883, aged 76 years.

Rebecca, wife of Alvin Mayberry, died Aug. 11, 1888, aged 80 years.

Rebecca, wife of Simeon Quimby, died Jan. 9, 1850, aged 47 years.

Samuel Walker, died Feb. 26, 1841, aged 22 years.

James Mayberry, died Apr. 17, 1840, aged 73 years.

Bathsheba Graffam, died Dec. 30, 1837, aged 63 years.

Capt. Thomas Trott, born 1730, died 1821.

Sarah, wife of Capt. Thomas Trott, born 1740, died 1837.
John Trott, born 1786, died 1832.
Martha, wife of John Trott, born 1791, died 1881.
John Trott, Jun., born 1826, died 1828.
William Trott, born 1831, died 1832.
Jane Trott Foss, born 1811, died 1876.
Sarah Trott, born 1814, died 1887.
John Mayberry, died June 3, 1876, aged 91 years.
Richard Dole, Jun. died Aug. 9, 1864, aged 35 years.
Jennie Dole, died Oct. 11, 1863, aged 7 years, 2 months.
Freddie Dole, died Mar. 28, 1856, aged 10 days.
Samuel Dole, died Oct. 18, 1844, aged 79 years.
Mehitable, wife of Samuel Dole, died July 11, 1843, aged 77 years.
Apphia Dole, died June 2, 1815, aged 22 years.
Oliver Dole, died Mar. 1, 1838, aged 40 years.
Elizabeth, wife of Oliver Dole, died Aug. 24, 1833, aged 32 years.
Daniel W. Dole, died July 4, 1876, aged 69 years.
Eliza, wife of Daniel W. Dole, died Mar. 18, 1832, aged 24 years.
Mary W., second wife of Daniel W. Dole, died May 14, 1872, aged 57 years.
Sally Winship, died — 1840.
Peter Elder, born Dec. 12, 1794, died Sept. 2, 1859.
Lewis Cobb, born Oct. 9, 1808, died Mar. 4, 1887.
Harriet H., wife of Lewis Cobb, died Jan. 1886, aged 69 years.
Jeannette Cobb, died Sept. 1, 1875, aged 25 years.
Edward Elder, died Mar. 22, 1855, aged 35 years.
Levi Harris, died Aug. 23, 1871, aged 81 years.
Betsey, wife of Levi Harris, died Aug. 12, 1853, aged 63 years.
Francis Harris, born 1819, died 1888.
Mary, wife of Francis Harris, born 1815, died 1879.
Alfreda Harris, born 1857, died 1857.
Peter Ingersoll, died May 27, 1846, aged 51 years.
Martha, wife of Peter Ingersoll, died Jan. 6, 1860, aged 63 years, 4 months, 10 days.
Isabel McCollough, died Nov. 6, 1867, aged 23 years.

Susan J. T., wife of John McCollough, died Sept. 9, 1865, aged 44 years.

Nathan Cloudman, died June 17, 1869, aged 63 years, 10 months.

Elizabeth, wife of Nathan Cloudman, died June 8, 1877, aged 75 years, 4 months.

Jason Miller, born Aug., 1833, died Oct., 1882.

Angie M., wife of Frank Elliott, born Oct. 30, 1855, died May —, 1892.

Philip S. Bragdon, died Feb. 14, 1890, aged 21 yrs., 1 month.

James Grant, died June 3, 1874, aged 66 years, 15 days.

Hannah, wife of James Grant, died Sept. 9, 1873, aged 56 years, 11 months, 9 days.

Adaline Smith, died May 24, 1845, aged 1 year.

Martha E. Smith, died May 4, 1865, aged 6 years.

Arvilla A. Smith died Apr. 25, 1865, aged 18 years.

Elizabeth, wife of Lewis Smith, died July 9, 1865, aged 47 years, 6 months.

Elias M. Babb, died Dec. 7, 1855, aged 50 years.

Sarah L., wife of Elias M. Babb, died Nov. 21, 1854, aged 49 years.

Irene Babb, died Dec. 12, 1856, aged 16 years, 10 months.

Frank L. Shaw, died Oct. 7, 1860, aged 3 years.

Reuben Shaw, died June 11, 1860, aged 7 years, 6 months.

John A. Shaw, died June 13, 1863.

Clara L. Shaw, died Mar. 13, 1885, born Mar. 21, 1881.

Daniel Shaw, died Mar. 19, 1878, aged 82 years, 3 mos.

Lavina, wife of Daniel Shaw, died May 4, 1870, aged 70 years, 6 months.

Zelia F. Sawyer, died Sept. 2, 1860, aged 8 years, 6 months.

Eunice E. Sawyer, died Oct. 18, 1849, aged 1 year, 11 months.

Edgar F. Sawyer, born 1858, died 1885.

Col. Edward Anderson, born Oct. 30, 1801, died 1867.

Louisa, wife of Col. Edward Anderson, born Nov. 7, 1804, died July, 1881.

Henry Berry, died Mar. 14, 1846, aged 44 years.

Joshua Berry, died Oct. 13, 1847, aged 80 years.

Olive Wilson, wife of Joshua Berry, died May 6, 1815, aged 46 years.

Thomas L. Smith, died Jan. 3, 1882, aged 84 years, 2 months — the town historian.

Eliza, wife of Thomas L. Smith, died July 22, 1888, aged 86 years, 11 months.

Mary Ann Smith, died Oct. 26, 1867, aged 43 yrs., 10 ms.

Wendell T. Smith, died July 21, 1864, aged 29 yrs., 4 days.

Eliza W. Pride, died June 22, 1866, aged 65 years.

Ann M. Freeman, died Mar. 25, 1847, aged 3 years.

Rose Elva Freeman, died July 4, 1852, aged 14 ms., 10 ds.

Martha A., wife of Benjamin Freeman, died Mar. 18, 1863, aged 40 years.

Benjamin Freeman, born Oct. 8, 1818, died Mar. 5, 1890.

Josiah Freeman, born Oct. 10, 1791, died Mar. 28, 1868.

Stephen W. Freeman, died Aug. 26, 1897, aged 80 yrs., 7 ms.

Charity A., first wife of Stephen W. Freeman, died Apr. 22, 1842.

Jeremiah Riggs, died Sept. 10, 1869, aged 74 years.

Hannah, wife of Rufus Mitchel, died Apr. 11, 1890, aged 60 years, 10 months.

Ebenezer Hawkes, born 1726, died 1805.

Sarah, wife of Ebenezer Hawkes, born 1730, died 1805.

Joseph Hawkes, born 1768, died 1837.

Rebecca, wife of Joseph Hawkes, born 1780, died 1837.

Joseph Hawkes, Jun., born 1812, died Jan. 19, 1844, aged 32 yrs.

Ebenezer Hawkes, born May 14, 1817, died July 1, 1882.

Abner L. Hawkes, born 1820, died 1841.

Betsey Hawkes, wife of Lewis Hardy, born 1809, d. 1863.

Ellen, wife of Ebenezer Hawkes, born 1824, died 1881.

Mary, wife of W. L. Hawkes, born 1850, died 1880.

Loyd, son of Wesley and Sadie W. Hawkes, born 1880, died 1881.

Frederick Smith, born Oct. 27, 1796, died May 27, 1877.

Martha, wife of Frederick Smith, born Jan. 24, 1798, died May 1, 1881.

Harriet W. Smith, died Feb. 16, 1863.

Hannah B., wife of J. F. Merrill, died May 27, 1865, aged 30 years, 3 months.

James W. Swett, died Oct. 20, 1883, aged 43 years.

Edward Stevens, died Apr. 19, 1870, aged 25 years.

Freddie H. Stevens, died Mar. 15, 1870, aged 4 months.

Stephen Webb, died May 13, 1868, aged 76 years.

Mary, wife of Stephen Webb, died July 13, 1889, aged 92 years, 6 months.

Betsey, wife of John Paddon, died Mar. 15, 1870, aged 94 years.

Mark H. Stevens, died Sept. 11, 1879, aged 64 years, 10 months.

John Webb, died Nov. 30, 1896, aged 78 years.

Lucy A., wife of John Webb, died Apr. 16, 1886, aged 64 years.

Hannahette Webb, died Aug 2, 1840, aged 16 years.

Edward H. Davis, died Apr. 30, 1871, aged 32 years.

Joseph T. Hawkes, died Nov. 10, 1847, aged 10 years.

J. Baxter Smith, died Aug. 11, 1865, aged 28 years, 6 months.

Willie H. Smith, died Sept. 25, 1864, aged 1 year, 9 months.

Lorenzo D. Knight, born 1833, died 1893.

John Bacon, born 1809, died 1892.

Eunice, wife of John Bacon, born 1809, died 1892.

John A. Bacon, born 1834, died 1843.

Mary Ette Knight, died June 26, 1854, aged 1 year, 3 months.

Albert Bacon, born 1844, died 1847.

Mary J., wife of Stephen A. Cordwell, born 1832, d. 1856.

Alfreda Knight, died Oct. 29, 1876, aged 20 years, 9 months.

Orinda Knight, died Feb. 8, 1879, aged 11 years, 10 months.

Edmund Douglass, died Aug. 8, 1892, aged 73 years.

Eunice, first wife of Edmund Douglass, died May 30, 1851, aged 41 years.

Eliza, second wife of Edmund Douglass, died July 2, 1886, aged 67 years, 7 months.

Reuben Elder, died Dec. 16, 1839, aged 47 years.

Caroline Elder, died July 31, 1845, aged 21 years.

Lydia M., wife of Albert L. Elder, died Jan. 31, 1866, aged 29 years, 3 months.

Jeremiah Brackett, died Dec. 27, 1869, aged 74 years.

Elizabeth, wife of Jeremiah Brackett, died Sept. 18, 1881, aged 81 years.

John Mayberry, died Apr. 1, 1841, ag^{d} 78 years.

Lucy A. H., wife of William Bickford, died July 17, 1880, aged 57 years, 6 months, 17 days.

Abby Bickford, died Apr. 20, 1856, aged 11 years, 4 months, 20 days.

An infant daughter of William and Lucy A. H. Bickford died Sept. 2, 1850.

William Bickford, died Apr. 25, 1893, aged 76 years.

J. Porter Hall, died Feb. 17, 1881, aged 63 years, 10 months.

Sarah J., wife of J. Porter Hall, died Nov. 11, 1861, aged 42 years, 4 months.

Hattie McCollough, died May 19, 1884, aged 21 years.

Andrew R. Smith, born 1831, died 1885.

Charles J. Hawkes, died Mar. 11, 1864, aged 15 yrs., 7 months.

Charles H. Stevens, died Feb. 3, 1892, aged 27 years.

Thomas Brackett, born July 26, 1816, died Dec. 24, 1885.

Thomas F. Brackett, born May 23, 1841, died May 14, 1852.

Ann Maria, wife of George Bachelder, died Apr. 20, 1880, aged 42 years.

Eva Bachelder, died July 2, 1880, aged 13 years.

George Bachelder, died Dec. 11, 1895, aged 78 yrs., 11 ms., 19 days.

Mary Cloutman, died Dec. 2, 1821, aged 77 years.

John Burnham died Mar. 17, 1796, ag^{d} 27 years.

Mrs. Hannah Paine, died Nov. 24, 1806, aged 76 years.

Mary, wife of James P. Cash, died Nov. 15, 1849, aged 29 years.

James R. Cash, died Mar. 27, 1865, aged 18 years.

Edward S. True, died Dec. 21, 1891, aged 70 years.

Alice B., wife of Edward S. True, died Apr. 7, 1897, aged 74 years, 4 months, 25 days.

Abraham A. Cloudman, died Oct. 11, 1897.

John Bickford, died Dec. 31, 1891, aged 17 years.

Harry Hayes Bickford, died Jan. 5, 1892, aged 14 years, 11 months.

Samuel Bragdon, died Jan. 8, 1895, aged 76 years.

John A. Freeman, died Jan. 28, 1890, aged 66 years, 8 months.

Minerva, wife of John A. Freeman, died Mar. 23, 1889, aged

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Darius Bryant, died Feb. 12, 1889, ag^{d} 53 yrs., 8 months.

Louisa, wife of Daniel M. Wescott, died Nov. 16, 1894, aged 63 years.

Edgar H. Caswell, died June 24, 1895, aged 13 years 10 months, 5 days.

Marjorie A. Jordan, died Feb. 17, 1898, aged 15 years, 7 months.

Vera Seamans, died May 10, 1898, aged 6 yrs., 3 ms., 9 days.

Fredrick A. Webber, died May 2, 1898, aged 5 months.

Fredrick Montgomery, died May 7, 1898, aged 1 year, 9 months, 17 days.

Henry W. Caswell, died July 2, 1898, aged 28 days.

Anna M. Wark, died July 21, 1898, aged 2 years, 9 months, 18 days.

Eunice R., wife of William F. Sawyer, died Nov. 28, 1898, aged 70 years, 8 months, 20 days.

THE DEPREDATION AT PEMAQUID IN AUGUST, 1689

BY VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS

Read before the Maine Historical Society, January 18, 1900

It was with no little pleasure and anticipation that we visited Pemaquid in August, 1898, for the purpose of studying that historic territory. No longer the haunt of the prowling savage, but the resting-place of the summer-boarder, it thrills, nevertheless, the historian, as he wanders o'er its confines, and brings back to life the dead past. Here

> "Lies many a relic, many a storied stone"

and

> "Green is the sod where, centuries ago,
> The pavements echoed with the thronging feet
> Of busy crowds that hurried to and fro,
> And met and parted in the city street;
> Here, where they lived, all holy thoughts revive,
> Of patient striving and of faith held fast;
> Here, where they died, their buried records live;
> Silent they speak from out the shadowy past."

We purpose to present a particular account of but one chapter of its history, by dealing, specifically, with Pemaquid during the last months of the administration of Sir Edmund Andros, and with the capitulation and destruction of Fort Charles under the new Boston government.

On 12 March, 1664-5, Charles II gave to his brother James, Duke of York, the territory known under the

name of Sagadahoc, and in which Pemaquid was included. But he utterly neglected his new acquisition until the resumption of his claim in 1677. The time was one of great excitement; King Philip's War, though on the wane, had not as yet been terminated. That war may properly be said to have ended with the treaty of Casco, 12 April, 1678.[1] The territory included within the Duke of York's patent was named "County of Cornwall" — a designation which seems to have been first applied on 1 November, 1683.[2] In 1685, upon his accession to the throne as James II, it became a royal province.

Pemaquid remained under the jurisdiction of New York until 1686. On 19 September of that year the king instructed Governor Dongan to deliver up Pemaquid to Sir Edmund Andros, and the royal order was couched in the following terms:

"Whereas We have thought fitt to Direct that Our Fort and Country of Pemaquid in regard of its distance from New York be for the future annexed to and Continued under the Government of Our Territory and Dominion of New England. Our Will and pleasure is That You forthwith deliver or Cause to be delivered Our said Fort and Country of Pemaquid, with the great Guns, amunition and Stores of Warr, togeather with all other Utensils and appertainances belonging to the Said Fort into the hands of Our Trusty and Well-beloved Sir Edmund Andros Knight Our Captaine Generall and Governour in Chief of Our Territory and Dominion of New England, or to the Governour or Commander in Chief there for the time being, or to Such person or persons as they shall Impower to receive the Same And for so doing this Shall be Your Warrant."[3]

[1] The authorities for this war are ample. The contemporary sources are indicated by Winsor in his "New England Indians" in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. 1895-6, pp. 345, ff.; and the best modern account is Bodge; "Soldiers in King Philip's War," Leominster, Mass., 1896.

[2] "Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.," Vol. V, p. 4.

[3] From a contemporary copy preserved in "Mass. Archives," Vol. CXXVI, fol. 94.

In the early summer of 1677, Lieut. Anthony Brockholst, consonant with his instructions from Andros, erected Fort Charles with lumber and other necessary materials, which he brought with him for that purpose from New York. The fort, then erected, was "a wooden Redoutt with two gunns aloft, & an outworke with two Bastions in each of w^{ch} two greatt guns, and one att y^{e} Gate."[1] It was the second fort, or rather redoubt, built by the English at Pemaquid. On 14 March, 1686-7, Nicholas Manning was commissioned captain of the garrison, and Francis Johnson became his lieutenant.[2] Fones Andros succeeded to the command on 27 August,[3] but his authority was of short duration. On 30 November of that year, Lieut. James Weems received his commission for that post, and it is with him that we are particularly concerned. He was carried to Pemaquid in the ketch Speedwell, John Cooke, commander.[4]

Contemporary documents of reputable authority prove that at Pemaquid lawlessness had full sway. Official action endeavored to repress it by the appointment of a body of justices of the peace, but success was far from assured. The perfidiousness of neighboring Indians, too, was harassing to the commander, and there were not wanting those who recommended that if the Indians were severely dealt with, they would "cringe like dogs."[5] The affairs wearied along, thus, in uncertainty.

[1] "N. Y. Coll. Docs.," Vol. III, p. 256.
[2] "Mass. Archives" Vol. CXXVI, fol. 262 and 263.
[3] "Mass. Archives," Vol. CXXVII, fol. 55.
[4] "Mass. Archives," Vol. CXXVII, fol. 266 and 267.
[5] Joseph Pipon to Andros in "Mass. Archives," Vol. CXXIX, fol. 172 and 173.

On 26 January, 1689, William Phips and Rev. Dr. Increase Mather petitioned their majesties, William and Mary, for the removal of Governor Andros.[1] He was deposed on 18 April, by the uprising of the populace, and the affairs were administered by a provisional government, until the arrival of Phips, in 1692, with the new charter. The revolution in New England had a disastrous effect upon the outlying garrisons. At Pemaquid partisanship ran high. Lieutenant Weems even had the audacity to affirm his partiality for Andros, in his correspondence with the new Boston government. Several of his men deserted, and they who remained were mutinous. The Boston government having withdrawn several companies, the balance objected to the risky exposure in which this placed them. But their greatest fear was lest they might lose their pay. On 14 June the Council ordered that promise be made to Weems and his men of the king's pay "from this time forward till farther Order." On 6 July a vote was passed that "Care be taken for the preservation of Pemaquid & their majesties People & Intrest there." On 23 July, Weems informed the government that he had prevailed upon his men to remain at the garrison, by assuring them of their pay and the reinforcements promised by the Council. The men on their part signified their willingness to remain, but not without, at the same time, ventilating their minds to the government, in a letter of the 24 July.[2]

[1] "Mass. Archives," Vol. CXXIX, fol. 217.

[2] "Mass. Archives," Vol. CVII, fol. 48, 184, 190, 226, 227 and 228; "Documentary History of Maine," Vol. V (Baxter MSS.), pp. 180, 181, 486, 521 and 522.

The temper of Weems was in part justifiable; for his garrison, weak and exposed, lay open to any momentary attack which might be made against it. It was only natural that he should be alarmed by the recurring news of nearby devastations. The dispersion of the English settlements, cut off from speedy succor by the many rivers and hideous woods that lay between them, laid them open to attack. The horrors of Indian treachery at Cocheco (now Dover, N. H.), in the early morning hours of 28 June, as well as the lesser, though oft-repeated onslaughts of the prowling savages in other quarters, were of a character to ruffle the most intrepid temper, and Weems was not alone in his demands for governmental action and protection. The view of the religious class was that human power had been exhausted. "Let vs take y^{e} more heart, to follow God wth o^{r} Prayers Night & day & never to give him rest till he hath made o^{r} jerusalem a Quiet habitation," was the quaint way in which one wrote to the government, on 5 July.[1] But the government, while failing to send the reinforcements requested for Pemaquid, was not wholly dilatory in its duties. Even before the attack upon Cocheco, it was voted, on 14 June, that "some meet persons be appointed to discover whether the uprisings of the Indians under the 'late Government' of Sir Ed. Andros, are the result of English wrongs or Indian wrongs, and, in either case, a reparation to be made or satisfaction given." The commission as well was authorized to treat with the chief Indians,

[1] John Pynchon, from Northfield, in "Mass. Archives," Vol. CVII, fol. 178.

between Penacook (now Concord, N. H.) and Pemaquid, and who had not participated in the late depredations, with a view to keeping them neutral. The English settlers were also prohibited from trading or bartering with the Indians, so long as hostilities continued; to do so, or to give arms or ammunition to any savage or neighboring French, was judged sufficient to brand the violator as an enemy of the English crown and nation, and to subject him to the prescribed punishment.[1] Baron de St. Castin and unruly Indians were to be warned that their insolences and murder would be no longer tolerated. Should they not desist, peaceably, the force of arms would be employed. On 2 July, exactly one month before the woeful events at Pemaquid, the Council voted to engage the Mohawks for the destruction of the hostile eastern Indians, and promised these Indian allies, "for their Incouragement," eight pounds for every fighting man's head or scalp, which they would present as an evidence of success.[2]

The garrisons which it was considered important to aid and maintain were Fort Royal, Arrowsic, Sheepscott, Pemaquid and Sagadahoc; and of these Pemaquid was looked upon as the key of all the eastern parts[3] — the bulwark of English civilization and Protestant Christianity.

Acknowledging the breadth, and often indefiniteness, of the designation of Pemaquid in the early

[1] "Mass. Archives," Vol. CVII, fol. 113.

[2] "Mass. Archives," Vol. CVII, fol. 161.

[3] "Mass. Archives," Vol. CVII, fol. 267. Cf. also Randolph to the Com. for Trade and Plantations, in "Edward Randolph," edited for the Prince Society, by Robert N. Toppan, Vol. IV (1899), p. 293.

patents, we shall, nevertheless, for the purposes of our narrative, confine our attention only to so much of the region as is situated at and about Pemaquid Falls and southeastward on both sides of Pemaquid River, still continuing in a southeasterly direction through Pemaquid Neck to Pemaquid Point. The land contiguous to the Falls was formerly called the Falls village. More recently it has taken the name Pemaquid; while the old region of Jamestown, the more restricted and older Pemaquid, now goes by the name of Pemaquid Beach. Across the river ot the northwest, where the best summer resorts of the immediate region are at present located, the name Pemaquid Harbor is applied. Just above Pemaquid Falls a stone bridge, about fifty feet in length, crosses the river. A sawmill over the falls is worked when the river is at its height. In the dry season the falls are little more than a current of water rumbling over the rocks; and it is at about this point that the fresh water of the river unites with the tide-water of Johns Bay. In old Jamestown, on Pemaquid Neck, Fort Charles, already described, was built in honor of Charles II. It was situated on the highest land there, near the water's edge, and just above Fish Point. A narrow channel separates its immediate confines from the western vein or dyke of basalt, known in early history as the Barbacan; but which no longer bears that designation, locally. The Barbacan — a name no doubt of French or Spanish origin, derived from its natural adaptedness for fortifying purposes — played an important part in the

early days. Some of the first settlements in the region were made there, and from it the Indians were wont to parley with the garrisons of old Pemaquid. To anyone unfamiliar with the region, the latter inference may seem to be an impossibilty. We made the test, and could hear the laughter of boys at play near the fort site. The youth of the place, even now, communicate with one another in this manner across the channel. Such are the confines of Pemaquid, the pages of whose history — a history older than Plymouth — are red with the blood of English, French and Indians alike, who struggled for the mastery amidst deeds of daring and scenes of horror.

We have already spoken of the exposed condition of Pemaquid, and the weak state of the garrison of Fort Charles after the withdrawal or desertion of all but thirty of the soldiers.[1] Only ten days before the depredation, on 23 July, Weems requested the government to send to him with all speed about ten or twelve men "to be in y^e^ Garrison for we are but weake at Present."[2] But the hoped for succor came not. At the same time the Canibas or Abenaki, reinforced by other tribes, and in particular by the Maliseets of St. John River, were in council at Pentagoët (Castine), perfecting plans for the extirpation of their nearest, though to them unpleasant, neighbors — the English of Pemaquid. While there is no direct evidence that St. Castin influenced or urged

[1] Weems says in one place that two companies were withdrawn by the Boston government; but in another place he put the number at three companies. The former is the most likely number.—"Maine Hist. Soc. Coll." (Baxter MSS.), pp. 180, 181, 521 and 522.

[2] "Mass. Archives," Vol. CVII, fol. 227.

the savages in their determination, circumstantial evidence is strong enough to charge him with being at least a participant in the scheme. He is not likely to have either forgotten or forgiven the unwarranted attack which Andros made upon him in the previous year. But for an open-handed and energetic factor in moulding the expedition, we must look to Father Pierre Thury, the Catholic missionary at Pentagoët, who accompanied the expedition throughout. He is described by Charlevoix as "a zealous laborer and a man of capacity." Thury came over to New France, and was ordained at Quebec, 21 December, 1677, but was not, as has been inferred by some, a Jesuit. After serving in the Acadian and St. Croix missions, he was invited to the Penobscot in 1687 by St. Castin.

The plan of campaign was laid amidst appeals to heaven for success. All confessed, many received communion, and the Indians took care that their wives and children did likewise, in order, as they believed, "to raise purer hands to heaven while their fathers and husbands were combatting the heretics." This religious enthusiasm of his flock was to Thury an assurance of victory. The Perpetual Rosary was established so long as the expedition lasted, and interruption was not even permitted for meals.

Preparations proceeded amidst the orgies natural to Indian campaigning. Between two and three hundred savages[1] led by Father Thury, and possibly

[1] Charlevoix says there were only one hundred. Grace Higiman (Hegeman), afterwards captured by them, says there were between two and three hundred and no French. Another account, dated 14 August, 1689, says there were seventy canoes

escorted by a few Frenchmen, made for their canoes. With flashing paddles they held their course by the seacoast. Their hearts of iron burned with bloody hatred. They halted and embarked. Three canoes moved onward to reconnoitre, and were instructed to meet the main force at a place of rendezous agreed upon. They may have landed first at Round Pond, but their final place of rendezvous was, it seems to us, at New Harbor, about two miles east of Fort Charles on Pemaquid Neck, where there were about twelve houses, then deserted.

Their canoes secreted, they moved stealthily along by land, unnoticed and undisturbed. Early in the morning of 2 August, John Starkey started out from the fort for New Harbor, probably to inspect that deserted region, where his own home and interests lay. He, and perhaps two others with him, if Charlevoix can be credited, fell in with some of the Indian spies along the roadside. To secure his own liberty, Starkey apprised them of the weakness of the garrison and settlement; that the elder Thomas Gyles had gone, with fourteen of his men, to his farm at the Falls, about three miles off, and that the other men of the town were "scattered abroad about their occasions." Thus credibly informed the Indians resolved on an immediate attack. After prayer, they stripped for the fight. Distributing themselves into two main bands, the one proceeded to the Falls, while the other rushed furiously on the houses in the

with four hundred men. Weems in a petition says there were a great number of Indians and French; and again, that he was forced out of his possession by French and Indians.

settlement, alarmed those first which were farthest off, slaughtered all who attempted resistance, and bound and took captive such as laid down their arms. The attack was made at noonday when the garrison and inhabitants were off their guard, and while there was no scout abroad.[1] But few of the inhabitants succeeded in entering the fort as a place of refuge. Of the entire Gyles family, only one, Samuel, a boy nine years of age, got within the fort, and he happened to be near when the first alarm was given.

Of course Weems made a show of defence by opening fire on the invaders, but could not prevent the savages from obtaining possession of several stone houses close by the fort, and situated on a street, the remains of which are to be seen to this day. A large rock, now happily called "Pemaquid Rock," lay unprotected just before the fort. Behind this the Indians also entrenched themselves, and from this point and the houses occupied by them, they kept up a terrible musketry fire all day and until late at night, when they summoned Weems to surrender.[2] But he succeeded in holding out a little longer.

Meanwhile the other branch of the attacking party was causing havoc about Pemaquid Falls, where they killed several in the fields, especially the elder Thomas Gyles, a man of sterling worth and integrity, and largely identified with the interests of the locality. It is to his son John that historians are indebted

[1] "Doc. Hist. of Maine," Vol. V (Baxter MSS.), pp. 120 and 121.

[2] Charlevoix. "New France" (Shea's trans.), Vol. IV, p. 42.

for a particular account of this depredation, as published by him years afterward, in an account of his captivity.[1]

At early dawn of the following day the firing was renewed on both sides, and was for awhile incessant; but Weems who had been severely wounded in the face by the blowing up of some gunpowder, narrowly escaping with his life,[2] and finding all of his men killed save seven,[3] determined to capitulate.

The terms proposed by Weems were for life and liberty. We give them as preserved in the narrative of Capt. John Gyles, as follows:

1. That they, the Indians should give him Mr. Pateshall's Sloop. [Richard Pateshall was killed on the first day of the incursion, as he lay off the Barbacan.]
2. That they should not molest him in carrying off the few People that had got into the Fort, and three captives that they had taken.
3. That the English should carry off in their Hands what they could from the Fort.

Weems and his little party sailed in Pateshall's sloop for Boston. Cotton Mather, however, says the Indians violated the stipulations by butchering and capturing "many of them."[4] But none of the

[1] "Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Etc." Boston, 1736. An exhaustive edition of this work with many historical, genealogical and ethnological annotations, is now (1905) under way by the writer, and will speedily be published.

[2] Petition of Weems to Earl of Bellomont in "Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.," Vol. V (Baxter MSS.), p. 486.

[3] This is the number stated by Weems in his petition to the queen and privy council.—"Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.," Vol. V (Baxter MSS.), pp. 180 and 181. On p. 1, in a communication written 14 August, 1689, it is stated that twenty men were killed. Charlevoix (Shea's trans.), Vol. IV, p. 42, says that Weems and fourteen men capitulated. It is likely that a few of the latter were residents who had escaped within the fort.

[4] "Magnalia" (Hartford, 1853), Vol. II, p. 591.

English participants has left such a complaint, and Charlevoix, speaking for the French and Indians, says the savages "let them pass, without touching anything, merely telling them that if they were wise they would never come back again."[1] Moreover, Mather's account invites incredulity on the face of it, since there were not "many of them" in the party.

On 4 August, the Indians set fire to the houses and fort, "which," says Gyles, "made a terrible Blast, and was a melancholly Sight to us poor Captives, who were sad Spectators."

The captives, to the number of about fifty, were carried to Penobscot Fort. Some of them continued here during their captivity, but others were distributed among the various tribes of the attacking party. Among the latter was a lad, John Gyles, of whom we have already spoken. He, having been captured by a Maliseet Indian of the St. John River, was carried to Fort Meductic (now Lower Woodstock) in the present province of New Brunswick, Canada. Having lived with these Indians about six years, enduring suffering and fatigue, he was sold to a Frenchman, from whom he received his release in June, 1698, and sailed in a sloop from the mouth of the St. John for Boston, where he arrived on the nineteenth of the month, after an absence of eight years ten months and seventeen days. His subsequent services to the Bay government, within the confines of Maine and Acadia, as Indian interpreter, captain of several garrisons, and otherwise, during nearly a half a century,

[1] "Hist. of New France," (Shea), Vol. IV, pp. 42 and 43.

are a matter of conspicuous record. His "Memoirs," printed in 1736, are at once the most important and earliest English account of any consequence, relating to the province of New Brunswick.

JOSEPH W. PORTER

BY HON. E. B. NEALLY

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 14, 1901

It seems especially fitting that at a meeting of our Society, on the day of his funeral, the life-long, patient work of one of our members along the lines of research and study in our State history, for whose preservation the Society is instituted, should receive some recognition, as a well-deserved tribute to one who was so willing to give so large a portion of his time and means to perpetuate the record of every event, no matter how seemingly unimportant, and the name of every pioneer, no matter how slight his part, which may be of value,— and which will surely be of inestimable value,— to the future historians of our good old State.

Joseph W. Porter was born in Milton, Mass., July 27, 1824. In his early childhood his father's family removed to Brewer, in whose schools, and at Day's Academy in Wrentham, the young boy was educated. In 1840 he went to Lowell, remaining there nine years, going from thence to Weymouth and later to Braintree, Mass., where he was married in 1851, and where he held several town offices.

In 1862 he removed to Burlington, Me., and became identified with the large lumber interests of the Northern Penobscot, in which he was actively and

extensively engaged up to the time of his death, and with which interests he became thoroughly familiar, and a recognized authority throughout the State.

In 1881 he removed to Bangor where he resided till his death. His first wife, Miss Rhoda Keith Perkins, died in 1875 and two years later he married Mrs. Rose Brooks Nickerson, of Orrington, who, with two daughters, survive him. He died at Bangor, after a short illness, February 10, 1901, of pneumonia and heart trouble, at the age of seventy-six years.

Colonel Porter was a fine looking man, of extensive reading and culture, engaging in his manners and conversation, and much sought for in positions of honor and responsibility. He was appointed aide-de-camp, with the rank of colonel, on the staff of Governor Coburn in 1863 and in 1864 was made messenger of the electoral vote of Maine. He represented his town in the Maine House of Representatives in 1864-65-68-72 and '76, and was a senator from Penobscot in 1886-87. In 1869-70, he was a member of the governor's council, president of the Republican State Convention in 1872, and a presidential elector in 1876. In 1880 he was appointed chairman of the board of prison and jail inspectors and again in 1884. He was also nominated warden of the State Prison by Governor Davis, but declined the position.

In Bangor in 1889-90, he was a member of the common council, and from 1890 to 1892 a member of the board of aldermen. He has also been chairman of the board of registration since 1896.

This long line of important positions sufficiently shows the confidence and esteem felt towards him by his fellow-citizens and his State ; and his performance of all the duties was marked by strict integrity, clearness of grasp, and great energy and ability. He has truly "done the State some service."

But it is not by these high public stations that he has been best known to the people of Maine. What has given him his chief prominence, both in Maine, and beyond its borders, has been his hard labors, untiring zeal, and well-earned reputation as a student in Maine history and genealogy, and the consequent recognition of him as a high authority in all questions concerning the early settlers, and the line of descent of our oldest families. As to these he was sought far and near. And with his uniformly courteous bearing and kind interest, he has made debtors to him a large number, who successfully sought from him particulars about their own families otherwise unattainable.

In his fondness for this kind of research he gathered a large library of books rare and long out of print, and also collected a vast mass of information and manuscripts concerning the early days which is of great value. This he attempted to make as useful to the public as possible, by the publication of the *Bangor Historical Magazine* from 1885 to 1893,— an undertaking not expected to be successful as a financial venture, and largely carried on at his own expense,— and chiefly filled with the results of his own investigations. These volumes will be of peculiar

and unknown value to the investigators of future years. Since then and before he has published valuable articles in magazines and newspapers, notable among which are the regular contributions to the *Bangor Daily Commercial* upon historical subjects over the signature "Wayfarer."

Our Society has suffered a great loss in the death of such an associate, not only a distinguished public officer conspicuous for many years in some of the highest positions which our State has to give, but especially conspicuous for his warm devotion to historical research, his vast contributions to the knowledge of the settlement of eastern Maine, and his indefatigable efforts to preserve a record of the names and struggles of the earliest pioneers.

THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION IN MAINE DURING THE REBELLION

COMMUNICATED BY HON. JOSEPH WILLIAMSON

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 14, 1901

In 1899, I had the pleasure of an interview with the late Senator Bradbury, during which he gave some interesting particulars of the position taken by the Democrats in Maine, at the beginning of the Civil War. To my suggestion that his reminiscences of that critical period would form a valuable contribution to our political history, he sent the following paper with this added note:

AUGUSTA, August 11, 1899.

MY DEAR MR. WILLIAMSON:

I think that I promised to send to you a memorandum of the proceedings of the first Democratic State Convention in the Union after the commencement of the "Civil War," and of the defeat of the attempt to commit the party against the war.

It was a critical time.

England and France, with fleets at Halifax, were waiting for the moment to recognize the Southern Confederacy that formed a regular government and had in the field an army of 300,000.

The authorized declaration that one of the two great parties was opposed to the war would go far to furnish such pretext.

By the success of the Confederacy, England would cripple a commercial rival on whom she was compelled to depend for the raw material for her manufacturers, and France was irritated by our interference with the struggle in Mexico; and it is not too much to say that the statesmen of both Nations were anxious for a pretext to interfere.

I did not doubt the *honesty* of the gentlemen who were opposed to the war. They thought and said that the Union could not be preserved by force; and that, if it could, such a Union would not be worth saving.

I had such veneration for the Union under the Constitution, that I deemed it worth fighting for; and I have always felt that at that Convention my services were of substantial public value.

Of this others can judge better than I can possibly do in my own case.

Yours with respect and regard,

JAMES W. BRADBURY.

P. S. Kindly excuse the blunders incident to age.

The inauguration of Mr. Lincoln as President, March 4, 1861, was the signal for the attempted secession of most of the southern states from the Union.

The Civil War was commenced by the Confederates firing on Fort Sumter and capturing it on the fourteenth of April.

The first State Convention of the Democratic party in the Union was held in Maine. Individuals had shown their readiness to stand by the government in the struggle, but no convention of the party had defined the position it would assume. The party had not spoken; it had not declared its intention to support the administration in carrying on war for the Union.

I was a member of the Convention and chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. The Convention was held in Augusta. On coming together it was soon seen that there was a large number of gentlemen with credentials whom we did not expect to

meet. They had followed the lead of Caleb Cushing and Benjamin F. Butler the year before, and, bolting the Democratic party, had formed a separate organization and supported Breckenridge for president in opposition to Douglas. They had published a notice of their Convention to be held in Bangor the day following ours, and without our knowledge had taken credentials to both.

Expecting no opposition, no effort was made by the regular party to secure a full convention. Seeing this, the Breckenridge party had done their utmost and were there in force.

On entering the hall I saw at once that we should not have unanimity, and secured my appointment on the committee that should give voice to our action. I prepared the resolutions.

When I read to the committee the resolutions declaring that the Democratic party of Maine would give its support to the administration in all proper measures in the war for the preservation of the Union, this was instantly met and violently opposed by a Breckenridge member, who moved to strike out the resolution and insert "*The Democratic party is opposed to the war*," (or, "We are opposed to the war" I am not positive which phraseology was used.)

After a warm contest the committee adopted my resolution to be reported to the Convention.

As soon as I had read the report to the Convention the same motion was made to strike out and insert. At my suggestion an amendment to this amendment was offered by adding to the phrase "opposed to the

war" the words, *except so far as it may be found necessary to secure obedience to the laws of the United States.*

"That is the whole of it," exclaimed one of their men. "No, no, we won't have that."

I saw the danger and appealed to the Convention to consider the effect our action might have on the Union cause if one of the two great parties at the first Convention since the commencement of hostilities should declare its opposition to the war. It might lead to the *immediate recognition* of the Confederacy by England, now evidently anxious for a pretext to do so. It would be certain to give encouragement to the South to persevere in the mad effort to secede, and prolong a struggle that would fail in the end. There was such love for the Union that the people of the North would never consent to its destruction, which would be the inevitable result if states are allowed to secede on the claim of a right to do it. I said we had too good a government under the Constitution to throw it away. Our failure would end the hopes of republican government throughout the world.

I hoped that these reasons would have some effect. But when the vote was taken the amendment to the amendment was rejected by a majority of one!

It was evident that the anti war Breckenridge men had the control of the Convention. I was upon the platform without the opportunity to consult my friends and must act at once, before the vote was taken on the amended resolution. I immediately

stated to the Convention that we had unexpectedly met here gentlemen whom we supposed were members of another Convention, and who did not support the regular Democratic candidate for president, Mr. Douglas, at last year's election. By the vote just taken it was evident that they had the control of the Convention, and that they were opposed to giving the administration support of legitimate efforts to preserve the Union. This is not in accord with the judgment of the Democracy of the State. They love the Union, and will support all proper measures to preserve it. But we are powerless in this body to give such expression, and I advise all the members who agree with me in the work to do it, to withdraw, and go to another hall where we can give expression to the real sentiments of the Democratic party of the State.

Then all of us who had supported Douglas immediately withdrew in a body, and went to the designated hall, organized, nominated General Jameson for governor, and adopted resolutions to stand by the administration in all just measures to preserve the Union.

By this action we *broke the force of the effect* of having the State Convention of the party declare its opposition to the war. There were two conventions instead of one, and one declared that the party would stand by the government.

The result proved that we were right. The Jameson ticket secured a majority of the votes of the party in spite of the claim of the captured convention that their's was the regular nomination.

The plot of the men who usurped the organization to commit the party to opposition to the government in the war for the preservation of the Union was defeated by this prompt and decisive action.

With the people *patriotism* is stronger than *party*, and ever should be.

THE CAPTURE OF THE CHESAPEAKE

BY FRANCIS L. LITTLEFIELD

Read before the Maine Historical Society, April 17, 1901

At the meeting of the Maine Historical Society in March, 1901, there was read an extremely interesting and valuable paper by Clarence Hale, Esq., upon the capture and destruction of the revenue cutter Caleb Cushing, which was described as being the second time in the history of Portland when a hostile ship has cast anchor in our harbor, the first being the memorable and lamentable visit of Capt. Henry Mowat. There was another event which occurred shortly after the Cushing affair which deserves a place in our local annals, although the actual performance began and ended in the Maritime Provinces.

In his report to the Confederate Navy Department, of his operations which ended so disastrously, Lieutenant Read, commander of the expedition which captured the Cushing, refers to the New York packet Chesapeake as a "swift propellor" which he found at her wharf here, and which he judged would make a good prize to the Confederacy. While modern naval officers might differ with Lieutenant Read as to the swiftness of the Chesapeake, there is little doubt but that the Confederacy had the Chesapeake on its list of available vessels for its peculiar form of warfare, and that many attempts were made to

capture her. The attempt which finally succeeded, however, and which forms the subject of this paper, was not conducted under the auspices of the Confederacy at all, although the daring men who made the capture tried hard to secure the sanction of the Confederacy for their piratical act. Up to within the past few weeks I have had a dim and misty idea that the capture of the Chesapeake was one of a series of events all springing from a common source as is set forth in the following letter from J. D. Bulloch, the naval agent of the Confederacy in London, to the Confederate Secretary of the Navy at Richmond. Captain Bulloch says:

> I have long thought that a severe blow might be struck at New Bedford, Salem, Portland or other New England towns by sending from this side ships prepared with incendiary shells and Hall's rockets. If you will send out Lieutenant Commanding Davidson and Lieut. J. Pembroke Jones and will detail Lieutenant Murdough who is now in Europe, these three officers to command the ships, and each having not more than two subordinates of prudence and experience, I think the expedition could be secretly managed in the spring or early summer. The officers should be ordered to go to Halifax and thence report to me.

But upon looking into the matter more carefully in the records of the Navy Department and such other sources of information as are available, I am led to a different conclusion; that the capture of the Chesapeake was the act of a daring freebooter, a citizen of the world with no local ties, but who thought he saw an opportunity to join hands with the Confederacy and secure fame and perhaps wealth for himself while helping out the cause of the South.

In the records of the Navy Department during the early part of the year 1863, there are frequent allusions to the Confederate privateer Retribution.

Commander E. T. Nichols of the United States gunboat Alabama seems to have had this craft very much on his mind as he cruised about the West Indies and adjacent waters, and there seems to have been a reversal of the customary procedure since instead of Retribution following him, he appears to have been continually following Retribution and never overtaking it. He reports this will-o'-the-wisp or modern Flying Dutchman as having been in at about all of the ports on the Spanish Main only a few hours ahead of him, but he never caught up with her.

Commander Nichols describes this scourge of the seas as a converted tug-boat, formerly the Uncle Ben of Charleston, S. C., but with her engines taken out, her screw well plugged with wood, and fitted with big square sails and a certain amount of armament.

In one of his reports to the department, Commander Nichols refers to Captain Powers of the Retribution, and also to one Vernon Locke, and it is this latter individual who seems to have been the hero of the Chesapeake affair.

In due time retribution overtook the Retribution without the intervention of Commander Nichols and in September, 1863, the vessel was sent into the port of Nassau in a badly demoralized condition. Upon survey she was condemned and ordered sold. What became of Captain Powers, history does not relate, but he seems to have had a queer idea of his rights and

duties. He at least appears to have had a regular Confederate letter of marque from the Richmond government covering the Retribution, and when this vessel became unseaworthy and was condemned, he turned his authority over to Locke or Parker as that worthy seems to deem it best to call himself. Captain Parker drops out of the narrative at this point and Locke alias Parker also disappears for a short time.

There was a regular steamer service plying between Bermuda and Halifax and it appears that Locke or Parker, with Captain Powers' letter of marque in his carpet bag, was a passenger on one of the steamers for Halifax in October, 1863. Halifax and St. John were at that time hotbeds of secession, even more so in some respects than Richmond itself, and it was fitting indeed that a man like Locke should betake himself to such places in search of other men to help him in the desperate work he had on foot.

Locke was a man of British antecedents. He at one time lived at Beverley, Mass., where, according to Medical Director Delevan Bloodgood, he had at that time owned certain real estate. He was of a roving disposition who had been attracted to the cause of the Confederacy when the war broke out, and who had linked his fortunes with those of the celebrated Retribution in the capacity of first officer and navigator.

On arrival at Halifax, Locke, who from that moment became Capt. John Parker, met Rev. David Kinyou, since deceased, to whom he confided his intention of securing another vessel, preferably a

steamer, in which to continue his freebooting operations to the great hurt and damage of the government of the United States. Mr. Kinyou, who was then just from England, and little acquainted with the people of Halifax, could give Captain Parker little advice. He, however, suggested to him that St. John, N. B., might be a good place from which to base his operations since it was much nearer the American boundary than Halifax. Acting on this suggestion, Parker went to St. John.

He soon fell in with two men by name Braine and Parr, to whom he unfolded his scheme and in their minds it took concrete shape. The Chesapeake was well known to Parr who was the only real Confederate in the entire lot of conspirators. He had made two trips in the steamer from New York to this city (Portland), trying to study out some plan whereby she could be captured and taken away South. He entered into the project enthusiastically and with Parker and Braine soon had the matter in shape for action.

Braine afterward claimed to be a Southerner. He had, he said, been in the Confederate service and had been taken prisoner and confined at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, from whence he was released through the representations of Lord Lyons, the British minister, that he was a British subject. He claimed to be a son of one Colonel Braine, and that he had himself been a member of a Kentucky regiment, although according to the letter of Mr. W. H. Turlington, of St. John, to Hon. George Davis, of Wilmington,

N. C., it would appear that there are many doubts surrounding his story.

In a letter after the capture of the Chesapeake, Mr. Turlington says of Braine:

I know nothing of Braine except what I have seen of him here. He seems to have a great deal of determination, but not much prudence. He says he was a lieutenant in the First Kentucky Regiment, enlisted at Louisville, but hailed from Nashville; was taken prisoner in Indiana, 18 August, 1861, and kept in Fort Warren six months. Lord Lyons got him out. Was in with Mason, Slidell and others. His father, John Braine, is colonel of the 12th Mississippi Infantry at Fort Morgan; residence, Holly Springs, Miss., before the war. The young man arrested here, it is said, went into this affair with spirit; they are natives of this province and should be protected by our government as far as can be. One has a brother now in the Southern army. Major Collins was in the West. Was taken prisoner but made his escape and has gone back. It is to be hoped the government will send on an agent to Halifax at once well posted and with all the law bearing on these matters.

With an effrontery that would be considered almost sublime, Locke, under his alias, he himself being without a shadow of authority from any one, issued the following document to Braine on which rested the authority for all the deeds that followed in quick succession:

Lieutenant-Commanding John Clibbon Braine:

You are hereby ordered to proceed to the city of New York and State aforesaid with the following officers: First Lieutenant H. A. Parr, Second Lieutenant David Collins, Sailing Master Tom Sayers, First Engineer Smith, and a crew of twenty-two men. You will, upon arrival there, engage passage on board the steamer and use your own discretion as to the proper time and place of capture. Your action toward crew and passengers will

be strictly in accordance with the president's instructions. You will, as circumstances will permit, bring your prize to the island of Grand Manan for further orders. Seal Cove Harbor, if possible.

JOHN PARKER, Captain C. S. privateer Retribution.

Nobody, so far as I have been able to discover, seems to know whom the Tom Sayers referred to may have been in reality, although it is suspected that Parker by this name referred to a man named Osborne who went with the expedition and took a prominent part in it. His actual identity is also concealed under a series of clever aliases, so that after this lapse of time probably nobody will ever know who he really was.

In pursuance of the foregoing "commission" the party took passage for New York, where they arrived in time to take passage on the Chesapeake back for Portland on her trip leaving New York at six o'clock on Saturday, December 5, 1863.

The Chesapeake was a propeller steamer of about six hundred tons, built in 1853, and sailed for some years under the name of the Totten. In 1860 she was rebuilt under the name of Chesapeake and was put on the line between New York and Portland, being operated by H. B. Cromwell & Co., and commanded by Capt. Isaiah Willett, long an esteemed citizen of this town. Captain Willett was on board this trip that was to prove so eventful and which he describes in testimony before the court at St. John a few days later. Captain Willett says:

The three prisoners (before the court at St. John) went on board shortly before the steamer sailed. Paid their passage

money after sailing. There was no disturbance until 1.15 A. M., on the morning of the 7th, when the vessel was twenty miles N. N. E. of Cape Cod. The first mate, Charles Johnson, at that time went to the captain's room and called him, saying somebody had shot Owen Shaffer, the second engineer. The captain turned out at once. He had hardly put his head outside when he was shot at. He found the body of the second engineer on the deck in a pool of blood and while stooping to see if he was alive or dead he was again shot at twice. He walked forward and was again shot at. The next day he saw the places where the bullets struck the vessel. When he reached the pilot house Captain Willett says he was collared by First Lieutenant H. A. Parr, who pushed a revolver into his face and told him he was a prisoner to the Southern Confederacy. Parr ironed him and confined him in his own stateroom an hour. Parr and Sailing Master Robinson (?) then took him to the cabin where some of the others were found. While the captain was there the chief mate, Charles Johnson, and the chief engineer, James Johnson, were brought in wounded, the mate in the arm and leg, the chief engineer in the chin. Parr extracted the bullets. The first land they made was Mt. Desert. Captain Willett asked his captors, whom he names as Braine, Parr, Robinson, Seeley, Collins, Clifford, Osborne and McKinney, where they were going and they replied "Grand Manan." They told him they intended to land him at St. John. After passing Mt. Desert they next made Seal Cove, Grand Manan, where a number of the conspirators went ashore in a boat, remaining some time. Then they came back and proceeded up the Bay of Fundy toward St. John. Braine and Parr then took the captain to his stateroom and proceeded to go through him, first giving him a copy of Parker's instructions to Braine. They took his money, ship's papers and permits for the cargo at the point of a pistol, and then ordered him aft where he remained. Later a pilot boat was overhauled, and from it Capt. John Parker came on board and at once assumed command. Everybody of the ship's company except two engineers and three firemen were put into the pilot boat. The firemen were detained against their will. The steamer towed the pilot boat about six miles above Dipper Harbor when it was cast off and made its way to the

land, reaching St. John at 4 A. M., Wednesday. As soon as he reached St. John, Captain Willett notified his owners by telegraph what had befallen him and his ship.

After Parker came on board and took command of the Chesapeake, there occurred one of those peculiar events which so often came to help the Union forces during the war, both on land and on sea, and which force one to the conclusion that the God of Battles did indeed watch over the cause of the Union and protected it with His almighty arm when no other help was near.

Had Parker been favored with good weather he might have passed out of the Bay of Fundy, and by using part sail and part steam, made his way to Wilmington, or at least to Bermuda, where he could have coaled and started on a career of destruction in the high seas that would have made the dread names Alabama, Sumter and Florida pale into insignificance. But the God of Battles interposed a fearful gale, which has a distinct place in the annals of this coast, and the Chesapeake had to flee to Shelburne Harbor, at the lower end of Nova Scotia, for shelter.

Thus it was that at about the time Captain Willett reached the mainland and was soothing his outraged feelings by keeping the wires "hot" with messages all up and down the coast relating the story of his capture, the pirates were cooped up in a snug harbor across the bay waiting for the storm to abate so that they could creep out after coal.

Mr. B. Weir, Q. C., of Halifax, in a letter to N. S. Walker, Confederate agent at Nassau, hints that

Parker had no money and so could not secure coal at St. John. This would seem to be strong evidence that he had no government authority back of his expedition, for if he had he could have issued a draft on Richmond to cover the cost of his coal, and Confederate drafts were eagerly accepted by traders in the Provinces at that time, and some of them are still eagerly treasured in that same section waiting for the day of redemption which will never come.

Mr. Weir further says:

> As the arrangements for coals did not succeed, I believe, for the want of money, the steamer had to bear away for the coast of Nova Scotia, intending to proceed to the east of Halifax, where coals could be procured and where telegraphic communication did not exist.

Mr. Weir's letter further says that a Yankee spy advised Captain Parker to go to Sambro, and then notified the naval and consular authorities of his whereabouts. Captain Parker is said to have gone to Halifax after his vessel reached Sambro, where he procured a cargo of coal which was put on board. "But," says Mr. Weir, "it was too late."

This point seems to have been well understood by Captain Parker, however much we are in the dark about it, for as soon as the storm subsided, he started out, heading toward Cape Breton, where the coal was to be had. He was forced to put into the bay of Sambro, just out of Halifax, however, and there he met his doom.

As might be imagined, the telegram from Captain Willett, at St. John, detailing however briefly the

startling fact that he and his ship had been captured and that he and the crew had been set adrift, the ship being taken he knew not where, caused a tremendous sensation all along the coast. The first mention of it in official dispatches is found in a brief telegram from Deputy Collector Robert A. Bird, of the port of Portland, to the Secretary of the Treasury, his superior officer, announcing the capture and asking for authority to use the gunboat Agawam, then fitting out at Portsmouth Navy Yard, in the pursuit. The message was turned over to the Navy Department and Secretary Welles sent orders to the commanding officers at the three Northern yards, Portsmouth, Boston and New York, to start all available vessels in pursuit at once.

An almost laughable confession of the unpreparedness of the service for emergency calls is to be found in the many brief telegrams that flew over the wires between the Navy Department and the navy yards, showing why certain vessels supposed to be ready for sea could not possibly be fitted out and started as ordered. Some were started, one of which, the Acacia, put into Portland Harbor in such a pitiable condition that she was run alongside a wharf, tied fore and aft, and two steam fire engines were sent for post-haste, to pump her free and keep her from sinking then and there, on the spot. Various other vessels were reported as undergoing repairs, or some other needed attentions, at the hands of the navy yard people so that they could not be used in the pursuit.

There was one man, however, who was ready for duty, saw his duty and did it. This was Acting Volunteer Lieutenant J. F. Nickels, U. S. N., commander of the gunboat Ella and Annie, then at the Boston yard. Captain Nickels was a "mustang" in navy parlance, a Maine merchant-captain who had volunteered into the navy for the war, but he proved to be the right man in the right place in this emergency. He was ordered to get under way and go to the Bay of Fundy in search of the Chesapeake and when found to capture her. They were from Commodore Montgomery, commandant of the Charlestown Navy Yard,— to proceed with all dispatch to Pubnico Harbor and there recapture the captured steamer Chesapeake, believed to be there.

Captain Nickels acted at once and this is his report of the subsequent proceedings :

In accordance with Commodore Montgomery's orders of the 9th inst. we got under way at 1.40 P. M. on the 10th and proceeded to sea. Arrived at Eastport, Me., at 9 A. M., 12th, and left at 10 A. M. with news that the Chesapeake was at Margaret's Bay, N. S. Arrived at 6 P. M. the 13th, but weather was so thick could not enter. Tried to lay by but came on to blow heavily from the S. and very thick so could not get into the bay until 2 P. M. the 15th. Coal being about out, went to Halifax and took in 136 tons. Left at 11 P. M. the 15th, for Lunenburg, on a false scent. Hearing there where the Chesapeake was, started at once for Mud Cove, Sambro Harbor, where arrived at 6.30 P. M. Being unable to find a pilot, laid to until daylight, when steamed in at full speed hoping to find the pirates asleep. Made the vessel out at 7.20 with a schooner alongside and with the American flag flying union down. Cleared for action and laid alongside. At 7.50 boarded, but found all except two of the pirates had escaped to the shore. Coaled her and put pro-

visions and a prize crew on board. Sent a boat's crew on board the schooner and found a number of packages that the captain acknowledged to have been taken from the Chesapeake, and one of the original seventeen men who captured her secreted in the cabin under a buffalo robe.

They took the trunks and other packages and likewise the pirate found under the buffalo robe, together with the other two found on the Chesapeake, on board the Ella and Annie and placed them in double irons :

At 1 P. M. finished coaling the ship and put Acting Master William McGloin in charge, with orders to proceed to Boston and report to the commandant of the navy yard. Immediately got under way with prize alongside and steamed out of the cove. At the mouth of Sambro Harbor fell in with United States sloop of war Dakotah, Captain Clary, who hailed us and asked if that was the Chesapeake. I replied in the affirmative. He then asked: "Where do you proceed with your prize?"

I replied: "To Boston."

He then asked: "Did you catch the pirates?"

I replied I had but three. He then told me to repair on board. I went on board where he ordered me to Halifax with the prize for adjudication, at which place we dropped anchor at 3.45 P. M.

We can readily read between the lines of this cold, official report, and it does not need a strong imagination to suggest the words that came to Captain Nickels' tongue when he saw the Dakotah appear at the entrance of Sambro Bay, well knowing what would be the result. But he was a true sailor and his first duty was obedience to lawful authority.

Captain Cleary, of the Dakotah, seems to have been the other end of the combination that is most successful in war. It takes a certain combination of daring

and diplomacy to make a complete success. Captain Nickels made the dash and captured the ship, whether he had the right to do so, considering all of the fine points of international law, or not. Then, just at the proper moment to avoid all disagreeable complications, Captain Clary, an old and experienced regular navy officer, came along and assumed control of the enterprise, conducting the diplomacy necessary with great skill and with the success that he deserved, although he appears to have felt very keenly the loss of his prisoners and the manner in which it was brought about.

Captain Clary's report of what followed tells in cool and dispassionate language some extremely interesting facts. After restating the facts given above, he says further:

> This morning (the 18th) received a telegram from the Honorable Secretary of the Navy to the effect to transfer the Chesapeake over to the Provincial authorities here. The United States consul has now called upon the authorities to arrest the pirate crew.

Here follows a series of notes between the consul, Captain Clary, General Doyle, commandant of the citadel, and a gentleman then somewhat unknown to fame who modestly signs himself "C. Tupper, Provincial Secretary," in which the latter try to provoke, and the former to avert, a breach of the traditions of diplomacy by insisting that Captain Clary hid his prisoners and denied having them on board, which charge Captain Clary, in diplomatic language, denies. Then Captain Clary says:

Consistent with the correspondence with his honor the provincial secretary of the British Government, I directed the transfer of the Chesapeake and prisoners to the Colonial authorities the 19th inst. I regret to add that during the rendition of the prisoners one was suffered to escape after being landed from the boat. This man, Locke or Parker, is recognized by our pilot as Vernon Locke.

This statement shows that the arch pirate himself was actually in Captain Clary's grasp but that owing to the connivance of the British authorities he lost him.

Mr. N. Gunnison, United States vice consul at Halifax, also reported that Braine was arrested at Liverpool, N. S., December 14, by the United States consul there, but that he escaped through the intervention of citizens, and went his way to Halifax. Mr. Gunnison says Braine showed a commission signed by Jeff Davis, a letter of marque, and instructions to take the steamer.

Rev. Mr. Kinyou says that the commission and letter of marque used by Locke were those of Powers intended for use in the Retribution, and that the instructions that Braine showed were those given him by Parker and quoted above.

Mr. W. H. Turlingham, of St. John, who seems to have been a friend in need for the Confederacy, comes into the case at this point. Mr. Turlingham, finding that his friend Parker was in a serious scrape, took his pen in hand and wrote the following letter, a portion of which has already been quoted above, to Hon. George Davis, sometime Confederate attorney-general:

DEAR SIR:

* * * * * * *

As I happen to know some of the parties engaged in the affair I have been requested to do whatever I can to bring the matter before the authorities. [He then recites the facts, and says:] The Hon. John H. Gray, one of the most influential lawyers of the Province, is defending the prisoners in the name of the Confederate government. He just asked me if the Confederate government would recognize the act and make the cause its own. I replied I thought they would but that I had no authority for so stating. I fear there is a good deal of informality in the authority by which the capture was made. In the first place the letter of marque was issued to someone (whose name I forget,—was captain of the Modern Greece) and then transferred to Captain Parker at Charleston custom house. (There is no one here who can prove there is a law in the Confederacy sanctioning this) Captain Parker doesn't seem to have his true name. It is said by some to be Locke.

Braine I don't think had any commission, but acted simply on Parker's orders. If you can procure him a lieutenant's commission and send me at once to this place he may come forward and cover the whole party, and no doubt save the vessel and cargo. If this commission can be had, let it be dated back prior to the transaction. It shall be used for no further purpose than to cover this affair, unless by consent or direction of the government.

The newspapers of the time give very meager accounts of the affair, probably because those who controlled the news sent from St. John had violent sympathies with one side in the trouble. It appears, however, that the action of the acting-governor in ordering out his soldiers and preparing to blow the American fleet out of the water unless the prisoners were given up, was done for effect upon the populace who were intensely interested and who were all on the side of the captured men.

Rev. Mr. Kinyou stated that there were threats of sacking the American consulate if the men were not given up, or even if they were, as a sort of protest that they were not given up sooner. He says he heard a great many expressions of joy that the d—d Yankees had at last committed an overt act that would permit her Brittanic Majesty's government to make reprisals and administer the punishment they all wanted to see administered.

Mr. N. S. Walker, Confederate agent at St. George, Bermuda, wrote as follows to Judah P. Benjamin:

> The seizure of the Chesapeake has excited a good deal of feeling and it seems important that the government of the Confederate States should either disclaim it or recognize it as a regular act of war committed under letter of marque. In the meantime some of the persons implicated have been arrested under charges of piracy and murder and if no claim is made to the Chesapeake as lawful prize by the government of the Confederate States they are liable to surrender to the United States under the extradition treaty. The system of warfare expressed by the capture of the Chesapeake has not the approval of my better judgment, but I hope some effort consistent with the dignity of the government may be made to relieve the captors from their embarrassment.

Mr. Walker added that the skill of (Sir) Charles Tupper and General Doyle in attacking the acts of Captain Nickels, of the Ella and Annie, had done much to turn sympathy toward the original captors and to cause bitter hostility to the United States.

This letter was delivered by Parr, who thereby made good his personal salvation, having escaped

from Nova Scotia to Bermuda, and thence to the Bosom of the Confederacy, where he at least was safe from pursuit.

But wiser counsels prevailed. Mr. Turlingham's guarded hint that Parker and Braine were not regularly enlisted in the Confederate navy and Mr. Walker's sage observations had their effect in Richmond, although the Confederate leaders were not slow to grasp at all opportunities to legalize the affair. Judah P. Benjamin, secretary of state, engaged a competent man, W. A. Holcombe, Esq., to go to St. John and look after the interests of the prisoners and the vessel.

In his letter of instructions Mr. Benjamin says, referring to the letter of marque:

> The original commander of the privateer was Thomas B. Powers who transferred his command to Captain Parker. There is reason to believe that Parker's real name is Locke; although he enlisted in our service and took an oath of allegiance to the Confederacy, he was really a British subject, and it was probably with the view of avoiding penalties that might result from his disobedience to the neutrality proclamation of her Brittanic Majesty that he assumed a feigned name.

After giving a resume of the facts of the case up to date, Mr. Benjamin lays down these principles for Mr. Holcombe's guidance:

> First: That John C. Braine and Henry A. Parr were citizens of the Confederacy enlisted in its military service; had been prisoners in the hands of our enemies, and that having escaped to New Brunswick they there devised a stratagem for the capture of an enemy's vessel on the high seas, which was successfully carried out by the capture of the Chesapeake.

Second: That acting exclusively as belligerents in the public service of their country, they touched at a point or points in the British colonies for the sole purpose of procuring the fuel indispensable to making a voyage to a Confederate port.

These points were elaborately set forth with full citations from treatises on international law which could not have failed to do the business were it not for the fact that the basic premise was entirely wrong. These citations were accompanied by explict directions as to how the commissioner was to communicate with the authorities. He was instructed in the event of his being obstructed by the authorities at Halifax to give way as to the possession of the vessel, if necessary, but on no account to abandon the men if they should be found to be in any danger of surrender under the extradition treaty to be dealt with as pirates or murderers.

Holcombe proceeded on his mission, but owing to the necessity of going out to Bermuda through the blockade of the Southern ports, and then sailing North via Halifax, he did not reach that point until the matter had been sifted by the admiralty court. He investigated the whole affair, however, and came to the wise conclusion that the less the Confederate government said about the case the better it would be for everybody concerned. In this conclusion, Secretary Benjamin agrees with him. Their correspondence follows, in part. Mr. Holcombe, in his review of the case, says:

Of the party actually engaged in this capture, fourteen or fifteen in number, only one has any claim to the character of a Confederate citizen, or belonged in any way to its service. This

was the second officer, H. A. Parr, who, although from Canada, had lived for the past seven years in Tennessee. The lieutenant commanding, John C. Braine, I have ascertained beyond a doubt, had been released from Fort Warren on the application of the British minister, on the ground that he was a British subject. This, indeed, is the substance of his own admission, nor has he since been within the Confederacy.

Passing for the present the consideration of what effect Parker's connection with this enterprise may have upon its character, it appears to have been a capture made for the benefit of the Confederacy by a body of men without any public authority, and who, with the single exception of a subordinate, were British subjects.

Mr. Holcombe passes to a consideration of Parker and his much borrowed and much loaned letter of marque, and says he fails to find warrant of law for the belief that a letter of marque can be passed along from man to man, and from ship to ship, without becoming so thin as to become valueless.

Mr. Holcombe bears down very heavily on the repeated violations of British and international laws by Parker and Braine, being particularly severe on them for broaching the ship's cargo and "peddling the cargo in violation of the revenue laws of the Province, and the appropriation of a portion of the proceeds by some of them to their own use," and after viewing the subject in all its lights and shadows and consulting with some of the prominent gentlemen of the city, who, as he says, "have given money, time and influence without reserve, as if our cause had been that of their own country," he recommends that the act should be officially disclaimed by the Confederacy.

Mr. Secretary Benjamin, in his reply, fully agrees with Special Commissioner Holcombe, and after summing up the case very ably, officially in behalf of the Confederate States of America, disclaims all connection with the capture of the Chesapeake. He says:

> While we maintained and shall continue to uphold the right of every citizen of the Confederate States and every foreigner enlisted in their service, to wage warfare openly or by stratagem upon the vessels of our enemies on the high seas, whether armed or not, we distinctly disclaim and disavow all attempts to organize within neutral jurisdictions expeditions composed of neutral subjects, for the purpose of carrying on hostilities against the United States.

Mr. Holcombe's letter was dated April 1, and Mr. Benjamin's reply, April 20. Some reason for the calmness of their philosophy and the great respect they showed for the principles laid down in Wheaton's Treatise on International Law may be found in the fact that after a full hearing in the case inthe Vice Admiralty Court in Halifax, on February 15, the Hon. Alexander Stewart, C. B., presiding judge of the said court, entered up judgment in the cause No. 211 of the Queen *vs.* the Steamer Chesapeake and cargo.

Mr. Justice Stewart handed down also a lengthy opinion at the same time, the gist of which is that the men who captured the ship committed so many breaches of all kinds of laws, as to place them completely outside the pale of all legal protection, and to completely relieve the British government of any concern for their welfare. Inasmuch as they all escaped

from the Americans who captured them, and were in no danger for their lives, the best that could be done, Judge Stewart thought, would be to restore the ship to her owners, and, as diplomats say, "close the incident," and accordingly it was closed so far as the government of the Province of Nova Scotia or that of New Brunswick was concerned.

Writing from Halifax, April 26, to Secretary Benjamin, Commissioner Holcombe says :

I have conversed freely on the subject (of the court's decision) with eminent legal gentlemen, both in official position and out of it. They generally express regret that through the folly and misconduct of the captors, the Chesapeake was not secured to the use of the Confederacy. They think, however, that the court, if required to pass upon the character of the transaction, would have been compelled to regard it as in fact a capture by British subjects never enlisted in our service by any person having authority to do so, or, if otherwise, then enlisted in violation of the neutrality laws. It is morally certain the home government would not, under the circumstances, allow a claim for compensation for the surrender of the vessel by the judicial authorities and I cannot but think that the presentation of such a claim by our government and its rejection (the case being one as all must admit, very doubtful both in law and in morals) would impair its public prestige and weaken the moral weight which might attach to its interposition upon future and more important occasions.

None of the captors have as yet been taken under the new warrants. It would embarrass the government here as much as it would the Confederate government to have the solution of this question forced upon them in reference to the captors. Whatever may be the strict legal character of the transaction, public opinion would not tolerate their treatment as pirates, whether by proceedings against them as such on the part of the Colonial authorities, or by their extradition to the United States.

In due time, therefore, the court entered up its decree and the vessel and such of the cargo as had not been stolen by the pirates was returned to its owners at Portland and sent on its way rejoicing.

The Chesapeake herself resumed her trips on the New York line, and continued thereon until April 25, 1881, when she ran on Fisher's Island, in Long Island Sound, during a dense fog, and there she is to-day, her once fine lines represented by a mass of water-soaked and worm-eaten timbers, with no semblance to the form or substance of a ship that saw such exciting times.

The lapse of time puts a different face upon many events of the late war, but no length of time and no attempt to cover up or excuse this act which has been described, can alter it in any respect. There has always been a disposition in certain quarters to place the capture of the Chesapeake in line with the settled policy of the Confederate government,— to harass and destroy the enemy's commerce as well as to provide itself with such swift and strong steamers as might be made of use as cruisers.

The letter of Mr. Turlingham, and his suggestion that the Confederate government had better issue papers covering the capture, and date them back far enough to cover what had been done, plainly, without the slightest shadow of authority, takes care of that assertion.

In certain other quarters there has been a disposition to make this capture, conceived, begun and ended as it was at St. John, a plot raised and carried

out by some of our British cousins, sympathizers with, but not legally connected with, the Rebellion. There are certain phases of the case that make this latter charge easier to believe, but yet the conclusion must be that nobody except Locke alias Parker, Braine, Parr, and perhaps one or two thrifty ship chandlers of St. John, were concerned in it.

It was a daring deed, born of the spirit that the war raised in many men, and which, had it succeeded, would have merely added some more millions to the sum that Great Britain had to pay for the depredations of the Confederate cruisers upon our commerce, while at the same time the British government, as such, was totally ignorant of the crime contemplated until it had actually been committed.

Since writing the foregoing, I have come into possession of some additional facts that tend to show an actual interposition of Divine Providence in this episode that is truly remarkable. It seems that at the precise moment when Braine and Parker were dodging about Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, trying to avoid some of the crown officers who had warrants for their arrest, which they did not want to serve, an expedition was making its way toward the coast from the Great Lakes under command of Lieut. R. D. Minor, a regular officer of the Confederate navy.

This was the remnant of the celebrated expedition that went to Lake Erie with the intention of rescuing the prisoners at Johnson's Island Military Prison, capturing the well-known and time-honored man-of-war U. S. S. Michigan, which does guard duty on the

Lakes to-day as she did then in solitary grandeur, and to burn and destroy the cities and towns along the inland waterway. Owing to the disaffection of a member of the party, however, their base designs became known to the authorities of the Province of Ontario, and they were forthwith required to hence depart and never come back again.

In executing this movement they reached St. John, N. B., during the time the Chesapeake was being held in the custody of the Admiralty Court there. Lieutenant Minor inspected the ship and apparently became much impressed with her. In a letter to Rear Admiral Franklin Buchanan, of the Confederate navy, he says he had applied for and received the command of this fine ship, and but for the fact that she was surrendered by the British authorities to the American government, and by them to her owners, he says he would have realized his dearest ambition, a command afloat with a freebooters' license to burn and destroy all before him. According to the testimony of reliable men who knew both vessels, the Chesapeake was as good a boat as the celebrated Florida, and a good deal better than the much more celebrated Sumter, which carried death and destruction three-quarters of the way around the world and made their names a terror to seafaring men for years. Such being the case, it is easy to conjecture what havoc might have been committed had not that providential gale swept down the coast and kept the vessel tied up in the various harbors of Nova Scotia until Captain Nickels was able to catch up and take possession of her.

A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT CUSHNOC — NOW AUGUSTA

BY SAMUEL LANE BOARDMAN

A paper read before the Maine Historical Society at its meeting in Portland, May 15, 1901

In the spring of the year 1634 — two hundred and sixty-seven years ago, and fourteen years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, an event took place at Cushnoc, which, says Governor Bradford in his history of Plymouth Plantation, was "one of the sadest things that befell them since they came." This was a double murder; the killing of Capt. John Hocking [Hockin] and Moses Talbott. An event of so grave a nature as to be conspicuous for its sadness and the consequences feared from it, during the first fourteen years of the life of the Pilgrims in the New World, which occurred within the present limits of our city, is certainly worthy the attention of the local historian. It is true Mr. North gives a few lines to this transaction in his history of Augusta, but his account contains several errors which deserve correction, as the aim of all historic writing should be the gathering and recording of facts. Before coming to the narrative a brief preliminary statement will give a better understanding of the event, the condition of the country at the time and the legal and historic consequences of the same.

Very soon after their establishment in the New World the leaders of the Plymouth Colony commenced to traffic with the eastern Indians. This barter increased from year to year between Plymouth and Monhegan, Damariscove and Cushnoc, or Kennebec, and the chief men among the Pilgrims thus became acquainted with the certain gains arising from the fishery and fur trade, and began to make regular trips to these places solely for this purpose. Edward Everett Hale mentions the interesting fact in one of his historical addresses, that in all the early Thanksgiving proclamations issued by governors of Massachusetts, "the fisheries" were invariably mentioned as one of the things for which the people should give thanks. "It is only since 1826," he says, "that any Massachusetts governor is so disloyal to that ocean from whose breasts she has drawn her life, that he fails to mention 'the fisheries' in his proclamation."

After harvest, in the year 1626, they sent a shallop loaded with corn up Kennebec River in exchange for which they received "700 pounds of beaver besides other furs." When Isaac Allerton returned from England in the spring of 1628, he brought a patent or charter for Kennebec, and that year a trading house was built at Cushnoc. Gov. William Bradford, in his history of the Plymouth Plantation, says:

> They now erected a house up above in the river in ye most convenient place for trade, as they conceived, at Cushnoc, and furnished the same with commodities for yt end, both winter and somer, not only with corne, but also with such other

commodities as ye fishermen had traded with them, as coats, shirts, ruggs, and blankets, biskett, pease, prunes, etc.; and what they could not have out of England, they bought of the fishing ships, and so carried on their business as well as they could.

Bradford came in the Mayflower and upon the death of Governor Carver, in 1621, was made governor. One of his first official acts was the cultivation of friendly relations with the Indian chieftain Massasoit who in return disclosed to him a conspiracy of the savages for totally extirpating the English. His history of the colony, from which the above extract is made, was published in 1856,[1] after having remained in manuscript for more than two hundred years, and was supposed to have been lost. The manuscript of this work, which has been very aptly called the "Genesis of New England History," has a most interesting history of itself. It was very carefully preserved until the time of the Revolution when it disappeared. It is supposed that it was deposited in the "New England Library," gathered by Rev. Thomas Prince, pastor of the Old South Church, Boston, and by him bequeathed to that church. He died at Boston, October 22, 1758. When the Old South Church was desecrated by the British soldiery, during the Revolutionary War, many documents in this library were either destroyed or carried away. It is supposed that this particular manuscript was taken by some English officer who carried it off intentionally, knowing its inestimable value to American history. Its whereabouts were not known for a

[1] Vol. 3, IV series, Mass. Hist. Col.

period of nearly eighty years when it was found in the Fulham Palace Library — the palace of the lords bishop of London — in 1854. A copy of it was made and it was published in full in Volume 3 of the Fourth Series of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Many and various efforts were made by historical students in this country to have the original manuscript restored to the United States, but for a long time they were unsuccessful. Even so late as February, 1895, the bishop of London (as reported in the *New York Mail and Express*) expressed the opinion that a special act of Parliament would be necessary to restore this almost priceless document to the custody of our government. Finally, however, the manuscript was returned to this country, is now deposited in the State Library in Boston, and a beautiful edition was published by the State of Massachusetts in 1898.

Baylies, in his memoir of New Plymouth, says:

> On the river Kennebec a trading house was erected in 1628, and was constantly supplied with corn and goods. Having learned from the Dutch (at New Netherlands) the great advantages which were to be derived in the Indian trade from wampaum or wam-pum-peag, the settlers were induced to purchase of the article to the amount of £50 and to send it to Kennebec. Here it remained on hand for two years, but the interior Indians having heard of it were so anxious to obtain it that it became almost impossible to supply the demands. By the monopoly of this article alone they engrossed the whole trade on that river to the exclusion both of the fishermen and other planters.

Another extract is made from Baylies' memoir as bearing upon some of the points connected with the

legal aspect of the subject we are to consider. Under date of 1634, he says:

> Plymouth Colony now transacted a large trade with the Dutch at New Netherlands, and with the natives at Kennebec and Connecticut River. At Kennebec they exchanged the wampum which they obtained at Connecticut for beaver of which they shipped to England 20 hhds. This wampum consisted of small beads made from the shells of the quohog, a species of clam, polished, colored, and generally strung together on strips of cloth called "belts." Those which were made from the blue part of the shell were esteemed the most valuable. The Pequots and Narragansetts appear to have acquired the greatest consideration among the Indians of New England, perhaps in consequence of having learned the value of wampum or wam-pum-peag.

After the first two years following the introduction of wampum, it was found to command a more ready market among the Indian tribes — especially those of the interior — than any other commodity, and it was from the interior Indians, or those on the upper Kennebec, that the richest furs were obtained.

Of the trading house erected here in 1628, there is, unfortunately, no description, and if any view of it exists, says the learned historian, Samuel Adams Drake, in a recent letter to the writer, it is a "purely ideal sketch." One of the members of our Society who has written most learnedly and entertainingly of ancient (Kouissinoc) Cushnoc, Charles E. Nash, says:

> It must have been a log structure, roofed with scantling or bark, and lighted by windows of oiled paper — for glass was then rare and costly. It was hedged by a tall and close fence of pickets for retiracy and security.

It must have been quite permanently built, for Capt. Joseph Bean, who was taken captive by the Indians in 1692, and was with them eight years, learning much of their language, says the remains of it were visible among the newly growing trees at that date — sixty-four years after its erection. Sixty-two years later (1754) Fort Western was built upon the same spot and the house we call the "old fort," now standing on the east side of the river, is the barrack and storehouse building then erected.

Our honored member, Captain Nash, again graphically says:

> The ground of Bowman and Williams Streets and of the adjacent lots was trodden many times by the same feet that consecrated Plymouth Rock. There was the mutual meeting place of the business men of Plymouth and the fur-hunting natives; the latter flocked hither from their farthest haunts to be tempted by the enticing productions of civilization.

The grant of the Plymouth or Kennebec patent was issued in January, 1629, for, although obtained from England in 1628, it was not issued until its terms were complied with — one of them being that the trading house should first be erected, which was built in that year. It was from the old Plymouth Colony to William Bradford and was intended as an express favor to the trade and fisheries of Kennebec, and for "the propagation of the gospel." It must also be remembered, as bearing upon events at Cushnoc, that Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason held a grant to the land between the Merrimac and Kennebec Rivers and sixty miles from the seacoast, and

that in the spring of 1623 a settlement had been made at Piscataqua, now Rye, in the State of New Hampshire. But so indefinite were the limits of lands granted in these two patents that many disputes resulted therefrom in consequence of both claimants conveying the same places to different individuals.

The bounds of the Kennebec patent with its rights and privileges were as follows :

All that tracte of land or part of New England in America, which lyeth within or betweene, and extendeth it selfe from ye utmost limits of Cobiseconte, which adjoyneth to ye river of Kennebec, towards the western ocean, and a place called ye falls of Nequamkick in America, aforesaid; and ye space of 15 English myles on each side of ye said river, commonly called Kennebec river, and all of ye said river called Kennebec that lyeth within the said limits and bounds, eastward, westward, northward and southward, last above mentioned; and all lands, grounds, soyles, rivers, waters, fishing, etc. And by virtue of ye authority to us derived by his said late Ma^{tis} Lres patents, to take, apprehend, seise, and make prise of all such persons, their ships and goods, as shall attempte to inhabit or trade with ye savage people of that countrie within ye severall precincts and limits, etc.[1]

The patent embraced 1,500,000 acres of land. The colony had upon the river two magistrates who were empowered to try every case not capital, and all within the patent were required to take the oath of allegiance to the colony and obey its laws and the orders of the magistrates or to be banished. The magistrates in authority at Cushnoc in 1634 were John Howland and John Alden. Howland was a Pil-

[1] Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation.

grim of 1620, an assistant to the governor, and a leading man of the Plymouth Colony. He died at Kingston, Mass., February 22, 1672. John Alden was taken on board the Mayflower at South Hampton, where the ship stopped for provisions, as a cooper. Bradford says of him: "He was a hopeful young man, and was much desired, but left to his own liking to go or stay when he came here, but he stayed and maryed here." He was for many years an assistant to the governor, and, by his wisdom, integrity and decision, attained a commanding influence over his associates, although the youngest of the Pilgrims. Most exquisitely has Longfellow portrayed him in his opening stanza of the "Courtship of Miles Standish." After describing Standish he says:

Near him was seated John Alden, his friend and household companion,
Writing with diligent speed at a table of pine by the window;
Fair-haired, azure-eyed, with delicate Saxon complexion,
Having the dew of his youth, and the beauty thereof, as the captives
Whom Saint Gregory saw, and exclaimed, "Not Angles but Angels."
Youngest of all was he of the men who came in the Mayflower.

We will now take up the narrative of this tragic affair which produced so much anxiety and commotion throughout the entire Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies. In presenting this account I have drawn from "Bradford's History," "Winthrop's Journal," "Baylies' Memoir," the records of "Plymouth Colony and of the Massachusetts Bay Plantation," the "New England Historical-Genealogical Register," and other sources of authority.

Early in the month of April, 1634, Mr. North erroneously says May, the little settlement at Cushnoc

Cushnoc was thrown into much consternation by the arrival in the river of a barke (as recorded by Bradford) or pinnace, according to Winthrop, commanded by Capt. John Hocking (Mr. North says Haskins, though I do not know on what authority, as all the documents and works consulted unite in the spelling of the name as Hockin, or Hocking). It is probable the vessel was a small schooner. It belonged to Lord Say and Lord Brooke (or Brooks), lords proprietors of Piscataqua under Gorges and Mason, and contained commodities which were designed for trade with the Indians.

The vessel was looked upon as piratical craft and the intention of its captain was a clear violation of the rights of the proprietors at Cushnoc whose charter gave them the sole liberty of trade with the natives and also authority to "take, apprehend, seise and make prise of all such persons, their ships and goods" as attempted to trade with them without their authority.

In his narrative of this occurrence Bradford says: "Hocking would needs press into the limits (of the Plymouth Patent); and not only so, but would needs goe up ye river above their house (towards ye falls of ye river) and intercept the trade that should come to them." From this it is clear Hocking sailed up past the trading house towards Ticonic Falls, there being no rapids in the river at Cushnoc sufficient to prevent him. "The chief of the place," says Governor Bradford, "forbade him from going up and prayed him that he would not offer them that injury,

nor goe about to infring their liberties which had cost them so dear." This chief then in command at Cushnoc was John Howland.

Hocking persisted and declared he would go up and trade with the natives in spite of them and "lye there as long as he pleased." Howland remonstrated with him, telling him he would be forced to remove him from thence or make a seizure of him if he could. To this Hocking defied him to do his worst, kept on his way and anchored above the trading house. Howland then took a boat and with three men went up to where Hocking had anchored, again entreating him to depart. The only satisfaction he received was a shower of "ill words." Then the prudent and level-headed magistrate began to consider. It was the season for the Indians to come down the river to bring their winter's accumulations of furs and exchange them for commodities at the trading house. But here was a strange ship, having, he knew not what enticing articles to offer to thenatives, lying at anchor above their house and he concluded that if he should allow Hocking to take this trade from him, all their previous efforts would go for naught, and, as Bradford says, "they might then as well throw up all." Howland consulted with his men and their decision was to cut Hocking's anchors and let him drift down the river. Mr. North, in his very brief mention of this affair, says "John Allen, one of the magistrates, sent three men in a canoe to cut Hoskins' cables." This is incorrect.

It is quite impossible to conceive on what authority Mr. North obtained this name Allen, as every contemporary historian and all the records which have been consulted say it was John Alden, the assistant to Governor Bradford and one of the magistrates of Kennebec who was at Cushnoc at the time of the tragedy. The name of Allen has no more significance in relation to this affair than that of John Smith would have in connection with the dredging of Kennebec River. But when we know it was the favorite of the Pilgrims, the representative of the colonial government of Plymouth, who was at Cushnoc on that spring morning, that he was arrested and committed to prison in Boston because he was really the only official who could in any way be held responsible for the murder of a man who was the subject of a rival colony, the matter becomes invested with a romantic and vital interest upon the moment, for it connects Cushnoc and Plymouth Rock with the strong links of business and friendship.

Bradford says, in detailing subsequent points of this affair, that "Mr. Alden was at Kennebec at the time but was no actor in ye business, but went to carry them supply." The conclusion of this narrative I give in Governor Bradford's own language:

So, consulting with his men (who were willing theretoe) [Howland] resolved to put him from his anchores and let him drive down ye river with ye streame; but commanded ye men yt none should shoote a shote upon any occasion, except he comanded them. He spoake to him againe, but all in vaine; then he sent a cuple in a canow to cutt his cable, the which one of them performes; but Hocking takes up a pece which he had

layed ready, and as ye barke shered by ye canow, he shote him close under her side, in ye head, so he fell downe dead instantly. One of his fellows (that loved him well) could not hold, but with a muskett shot Hocking who fell downe dead and never speak word. This was ye truth of ye thing. The rest of ye men carried home the vessel and ye sad tidings of these things.

This tragic occurrence excited great consternation at Cushnoc and, despite the long time required in sending information to other parts of New England, Governor Bradford says the news "was quickly carried all about, and in ye worst manner." There were persons at Cushnoc, evidently in the interest of the Piscataqua Plantation, who wrote to the Lords Say and Brooke to exasperate them in regard to the affair. Bradford says in writing to them, the parties "left out all ye circumstances, as if Hocking had been held without any offence of his parte, conceling yt he had kild another first, and ye just occasion that he had given in offering such wrong," which of course greatly offended their lordships. They immediately wrote to Governor Dudley and Mr. Richard Bellingham regarding the matter. Thomas Dudley had come to America in 1630, and was governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony the year that this event took place. He was a man of talent and integrity, bold, outspoken and energetic, and in 1644 was appointed major-general of the colony. He died in 1653.

Richard Bellingham had come from England that very spring, but in 1641 was chosen governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in opposition to John Winthrop, serving as governor of the colony for ten, and deputy-governor for thirteen years. In their

letters to these officials Lords Say and Brooke wrote that they "have a mind to send a man of war to beat down the house at Kennebec for the death of Hockin."

John Alden returned to Plymouth carrying a true relation of the matter, at which, says Governor Bradford, "sundry were sadly affected with ye thing as they had cause." At the General Court held at Boston May 14, upon the complaint of a kinsman of Hocking, John Alden "who," says Governor Winthrop in his journal, "was one of the said magistrates of Plimouth, who was present at Kennebec when Hocking was slain, being then in Boston, was called and bound with sureties not to depart out of our jurisdiction without leave." The bark in which he went to Boston from Plymouth "was," says Bradford, "dismist aboute her business," but Alden was kept in Boston for some time.

The original record of the Massachusetts Bay Colony concerning the arrest of John Alden is as follows:

1634—May 14. Upon a complaynte made to John Winthrop, Esq., Govr. by a kinsman of John Hocking, lately slaine att Kennebec by one of the Plymouth plantacon, desiring that justice might be done upon the offendor, the Court taking into consideracon the same sayeth that Mr. John Alden (being there present when the said Hocking was slaine) shall be detained here, till answer be received from those of Plymouthe, whither they will trye the matter there or noe, or that sufficient security shall be taken that hee, the said John Alden, shall not depart out of the lymitts of this pattent, without leave from the court or Govn'r.

Mr. John Alden doth acknowledge to owe unto our Sovaigne Lord the king, the some of two hundred pound, and Mr.

Timothy Hetherly and Lieut. Rich. Morris in an hundred pound apeace to be levyd of their goods and chattels, etc.

The condicon of this recognizance is that John Alden shall not dept out of the lymitts of this patent without leave from the Court or Govn'r.

The authorities of the Massachusetts Bay Colony sent word to Plymouth to inform them what they had done "and to know," in the language of Governor Winthrop's journal, "whether they would do justice in the cause (as belonging to their jurisdiction) and to have a speedy answer." Their reason for holding Alden, says Winthrop, was "that notice might be taken that we did disavow the said action, which was much condemned of all men, and which was feared would give occasion to the king to send a general governor over; and besides had brought the gospel under a common reproach of cutting one another's throats for beaver." What the colonists feared more than all else, as likely to grow out of this tragedy, was the sending over by the king of a general governor, for they desired of all things to maintain their own separate governments of the several colonies.

Meanwhile Governor Bradford had sent Captain Standish to Cushnoc to obtain for them "true information," to procure letters and depositions which might possibly result in the release of Mr. Alden. The following letter from Governor Dudley to Mr. Bradford refers to this transaction. Alden's arrest had taken place while Winthrop was governor, and just before the inauguration of Governor Dudley to that office. Dr. Edward Everett Hale tells in his

delightful book, "A New England Boyhood," how, in the first charter, the General Court — the name to this day of the legislature of Massachusetts — meant simply what we should now call a stockholders' meeting. By that charter the election and beginning of the political year took place on the last Wednesday in May; so that one of the first acts of Governor Dudley was the release of John Alden. New-towne, from which he writes, is now the city of Cambridge, the name having been changed by the General Court, May 2, 1638. Governor Dudley says:

Good S[r]

I have received your letters by Captaine Standish & am unfainedly glad of God's mercies towards you in ye recovery of your health, or some way thereto. For ye bussiness you write of, I thought meete to answer a word or 2 to yourselfe, leaving the answer of your Gov[r] letter to our courte, to whom ye same, together with myselfe is directed. I conceive (till I hear new matter to ye contrary) that your patente may warrant your resistance of any English from trading at Kennebec, and yt blood of Hocking, and ye partie he slue, will be required at his hands. Yet doe I with your selfe & others sorrow for their deaths. I thinke likewise yt your generall letters will satisfie our courte, and make them cease from any further inter medling in ye matter. I have upon ye same letter sett Mr. Alden at liberty, and his sureties, and yet, least I should seeme to neglecte ye opinion of our court & ye frequente speeches of others with us, I have bound Captaine Standish to appear ye 3 of June at our nexte courte, to make affidavid for ye coppie of ye patente, and to manifest the circumstances of Hockin's provocations; both which will tend to ye clearing of your inocencie. If any unkindness hath ben taken from what we have done, let it be further & better considered of, I pray you; and I hope ye more you thinke of it, the less blaime you will impute to us. At least you ought to be just in differencing them, whose opinions

concurr with your owne, from others who were opposites; and yet I may truly say, I have spoken with no man in ye bussines who taxed you most, but they are such as have many wayes heretofore declared ther good affections towards your plantation. I further referr myself to ye reporte of Captaine Standish and Mr. Alden; leaving you for this presente to God's blessing, wishing unto you perfect recovery of health, and ye long continuance of it. I desire to be lovingly remembered to Mr. Prence, your Gov^r, Mr. Winslow, Mr. Brewster, whom I would see if I knew how. The Lord keepe you all. Amen.

Your very loving friend in our Lord Jesus.

Th° Dudley.

At the meeting of the General Court at Boston on June 3, alluded to in this letter of Governor Dudley, the matter of the tragedy at Cushnoc was considered. The result was that letters were to be written to all the neighboring plantations, especially that of the lords at Piscataqua, as well as to all those in Massachusetts, to appoint representatives to a meeting at some fit place to consult and determine in the matter with the understanding that the delegates so chosen might have full power to order, bind, etc. Concerning this meeting Governor Bradford says:

And that nothing be done to ye infringing or prejudice of ye liberties of any place; and for ye clearing of Conscience, ye law of God is, yt ye priest lips must be consulted with, and therefore it was desired that ye ministers of every plantation might be presente to give their advice in point of conscience. Though this course seemed dangerous to some, yet they were so well assured of ye justice of their cause, and ye equitie of their friends, as they put themselves upon it, & appointed a time, of which they gave notice to ye severall places a month before hand; viz, Massachusetts, Salem and Pascataway, or any other y^t they would give notice too, and desired them to produce any evidence they could in ye case. The place for meeting was at Boston.

When the time of this meeting arrived — July 9, the only persons present were the magistrates and ministers of the Massachusetts Bay. Notwithstanding Captain Wiggin, the governor at "Pascataquack," and those at other places had been notified and convenient time given them to be present, they did not appear; and Mr. Winthrop and the rest said they could do no more than they had done thus to request them, and the blame must rest on them. Hutchinson, in his history, puts in as a defense for Hocking, that he claimed his right to trade at Kennebec by virtue of the grant of Gorges.

Among the members of this important council were William Bradford, second governor of Plymouth; Edward Winslow, governor in 1633, who, in the first conference with Massasoit offered himself as a hostage, and thus won his attachment which was afterward strengthened by curing him of a severe illness; John Winthrop; Mr. Smith, the minister at Plymouth; John Wilson, first minister of Boston who came to New England with Winthrop in 1629 and was regarded as the father of the new plantation, and John Cotton, for the long period of nineteen years one of the most learned and influential advisers of the new colony. In the account of this conference given in his journal by Gov. John Winthrop he says: "After they had sought the Lord" they fell to discussing the matter in hand. One of the most important documents which they had to consider was the following deposition, which is copied from the Old Colony Records for the year 1634:

FROM OLD COLONY RECORDS, PLYMOTH 1634 PRENCE, GOVERNOR.

This deponent saieth that upon the —— day of Aprill, John Hocking riding at anker within our limits above the house, Mr. John Howland went up to him with our bark and charged the said Hocking to waye his ankors and depart, who answered hee would not, with foule speeches, demanding why he spoke not to him that sent him fourth. Answeare was mad by John Howland that the last yeare a boat was sent, having no other business, to know whether it was theire mind that hee should thus wronge us in our trade; who returned answer they sent him not hither, and therefore Mr. Howland tould him that hee would not now suffer him there to ride. John Hocking demanded what hee would doe, whether he would shoat; Mr. Howland answered no, but he would put him from thence. John Hocking said and swore he would not shoot, but swore iff we came a bord him he would send us ——. Thus passing by him we came to an anker something nere his barke. Mr. Howland bid three of his men goe cutt his cable, whose names were John Frish, Thomas Savory and William Rennoles, who presently cut one, but were put by the other by the strength of the streme. Mr. Howland, seeing they could not well bring the cannow to the other cable, coled him a bord and bed Moses Talbott goe with them, who accordingly went very reddyly and brought the canow to Hocking's cable. He being upon the deck came with a carbine and a pistole in his hand and presently presented his peece at Thomas Savory; but the canow with the tide was put nere the bow of the barke, which Hocking seeing presently put his peece almost to Moyses Talbott's head, which Mr. Howland seeing called to him desiring him not to shut his man, but take himself for his mark, saying his men did but that which hee commanded them, and therefore desired him not to hurt any of them. If any wrong was don it was himself that did it, and therefore caled againe to him to take him for his marke, saying he stood very fayer; but Hocking would not heare nor looke towards our barke, but presently shooteth Moyses in the head, and presently took up his pistell in his hand, but the Lord stayed him from doing any further hurt; by a shot from our bark,

himselfe was presently shoote dead, being shott neere the same place in the head wher he had murderously shot Moyses.

There is nothing in the words to indicate of what person this document is the deposition, but it would appear, from the fact that Captain Standish had been sent to Cushnoc to obtain for the authorities at Plymouth "true information of the matter," that this document embodies the facts which he obtained there — this being the only document in existence in which the names of the men who went with Howland to cut the cables of Hocking's vessel, and the name of the man killed by Hocking, appear. It will be noticed that a statement in this deposition, gives without much doubt, a clew to the exact position above the trading house where Hocking anchored, and where these men were killed. This was probably near where the Kennebec dam now is, or where the meeting of the waters occasioned by the flowing back of the tide and the river in its descent produced swift water — as having cut one cable they were prevented or "put by" cutting the other "by the strength of the stream," which prevented them from bringing the canoe alongside the vessel.

After all the facts had been presented at this meeting, the council grouped them under two headings: First, whether their right of trade at Kennebec was such as they might lawfully hinder others from coming there; and, second, admitting that, whether in point of conscience, they might so far stand upon their right as to take away or hazard any man's life in defense of it. The cause of Kennebec was

defended with much ability. Upon the first of the headings the conferees contended that they not only had the king's grant, but that they had taken up this place as a domicile, and had so continued without interruption or claim of any of the natives for divers years. They also strongly urged that the trade to the Kennebec had been created by them, inasmuch as they had introduced wam-pum-peage as an article of traffic, the use of which in commerce they had been the first to discover and improve.

Admitting that their servant did kill Hocking, it was done in self-defense, and to save the lives of others whom he would have killed. Yet they acknowledged that they did hold themselves under guilt of the breach of the sixth commandment, in that they did hazard men's lives for such a cause and did not rather wait to preserve their rights by other means which they rather acknowledged because they wished it were not done, and hereafter they would be careful to prevent the like.

Commenting upon the proceedings of this council, Governor Bradford, in his history, says:

> Though all could have wished these things had never been, yet they could not but lay ye blame & guilt on Hockins owne head; and withall both magistrates and ministers gave them such grave & godly exhortations and advice as they thought meete, both for ye present & future; which they also imbraced with love and thankfullness promising to indeavor to follow ye same. And thus was this matter ended, and ther love and concord renewed.

Governor Winthrop and Governor Dudley both interested themselves greatly in the exoneration of

the Plymouth authorities and to effect it not only wrote friendly and interceding letters to influential men in England, but especially to the Lords Say and Brooke, proprietors of the plantation at Pascataqua, and to Captain Wiggin, governor of that colony, giving them an ample account of the affair. Although these gentlemen were much exasperated at first, on learning the exact truth they were pacified. Not being satisfied with simply writing letters to England, Mr. Winslow was sent to England by the Massachusetts Bay Colony, mainly on purpose to inform those in authority concerning the transaction, stating exactly what had been done, and if occasion presented, to make answer and just defense for their action, at the great council-table. But as Bradford concludes, "the matter tooke happy ending without any further trouble."

Little remains to be said. Several years after this occurrence the troubles between the English and the Indians increased. There were no game laws and no close time in the public policy of the natives and the former lucrative traffic in furs was almost entirely discontinued through the destruction of the fur-bearing animals; wam-pum-peage had lost its value as a trading commodity; the English gradually withdrew their business from this section and for nearly one hundred years the Indians of ancient Cushnoc occupied in solitary peacefulness the beautiful valley of the Kennebec.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE OLD TIME MILITIA AND THE ANNUAL GENERAL MUSTER

BY S. B. CLOUDMAN

Read before the Maine Historical Society March 27, 1902

As a holiday of the olden time, nothing came so near the mark of perfect satisfaction to the average country boy as the good old-fashioned general muster. In comparison all other red letter days sunk into insignificance. For the time, the patriotic zeal of old and young America was all awake and the "spirit of seventy-six" came to the front. Old soldiers rehearsed the stories of Lexington and Bunker Hill, told of the lack of pluck and courage on the part of the "Red-coats," and the daring bravery of the Yankees under Washington and his generals. According to their version of the matter we never lost a battle, were never beaten or defeated. With them it was victory after victory, for seven long years, and then came our independence. We boys were eager listeners, swallowing the whole as *bona fide* facts from these old soldiers. When we learned later, from authentic history, the truth concerning our war with England, we very reluctantly came to understand that those old fellows colored their yarns to suit the occasion.

The old general muster usually put in its annual appearance in September, about husking time. Then

all the enrolled militia in the neighboring towns received notice that they were "hereby ordered to meet at the usual place of parade, armed and equipped, as the law directs, to do military duty, and await further orders." In this section the usual place of muster was in Captain Robie's field, nearly opposite the southern terminus of the Gray road at Gorham Village. Early in the morning of muster day soldiers were seen on all roads leading to the muster field. Cavalrymen mounted on fine horses came galloping in from adjoining towns. The wild dash of those well-trained horses with their military equipage, the waving plumes from the steel clad helmets of the riders, the heavy sabers hung with clanking chains, the long brass "horse pistols" with flint-locks, the spurred boots with high tops, and the noble bearing of men and officers gave a very formidable appearance to this part of the brigade, and completely astonished the enthusiastic boy of those times. The orders to charge, mount, dismount, break ranks, and retreat, were all given by peculiar sounds from the bugle. When I first saw soldiers on the muster field, very few companies had uniforms; those who had were called "independent companies." The enrolled militia wore the common citizen's dress, and were sarcastically called "string beaners." Every able-bodied man between the ages of eighteen and forty-five was required by law to furnish his own gun and equipments and appear at the "May training," and at the general muster in September. A heavy fine was imposed on the soldier who should

fail to appear, or whose gun or equipment should fail to "pass muster."

The equipments were somewhat quaint in comparison with the present outfit of our boys in blue. The regular outfit at that time was a flint-lock gun with steel or iron ramrod, a bayonet and sheath, a cartridge box made of wood, capable of holding twenty-four "rounds" of powder and ball, two spare flints, a priming wire and brush, and a "gill cup." The regulation bullet of those days was all lead and perfectly round, and called an "ounce ball." The priming wire and brush were used to keep the old flint-lock in good working order. Then there was a knapsack containing a blanket roll and bread pocket. This was usually made from the green untanned skin of our common Maine coast seal with the coarse bristly hair left on. The letter and number of the company and regiment were coarsely stamped in large figures near the center of the knapsack. These accoutrements were conveniently fastened to the belt and shoulder straps, which were made from light harness leather and painted bright red. This outfit completed the equipment of the old-time militia-man. While the arrangement was rather primitive in style, and somewhat comical in appearance, we must not forget the fact that buttoned in these homespun coats were many men of sterling worth as citizens,— noble, reliable, brave, and patriotic, Uncle Sam's best boys.

In those days it was thought necessary to give the soldier something besides coffee to drink, and the State furnished spirit of some kind, "perhaps for the

stomach's sake." This treat (new rum and molasses) was mixed and brought into the field in common wooden pails by soldiers detailed for that purpose. They came once in the forenoon and once in the afternoon; each thirsty veteran helped himself with his "gill-cup." There was always a noticeable activity in the manœuvering after the "grog" had been passed.

The common stove-pipe silk hats, which many of the old military men wore while on duty, were tipped back to a slant of about forty-five degrees, while each man seemed to take an unusual interest in trying to keep his neighbor in line, and the manual of arms was performed with surprising dexterity. The musicians put in their extra licks, and "all went merry as a marriage bell." In the afternoon the paymaster came with a "bag of cash," and gave to each soldier a silver half-dollar in payment for services of that day.

The time for firing came about 5 P. M. The order, "prime and load," passed from company to company, the length of the "battle line." The infantry commenced firing by platoons, then by companies, then came the rapid firing of the whole battalion accompanied with the booming of heavy artillery. And such a racket! The heavy field pieces, mounted on clumsy wheels, were hurriedly dragged from one part of the ground to another by racing teams of four or six horses. On this occasion the "Cavalry Charge" was sounded from the bugle and was immediately followed by the wild dash of "troopers" at fearful

speed with drawn sabers, sweeping the field in unbroken lines, giving to this manœuver an almost indescribable grandeur. This, mingled with the continual roar of cannon, the incessant rattle of musketry, dense clouds of smoke, the harsh notes of the drum, the cheers and yells of the excited soldiers, gave to the whole scene a decidedly war-like appearance. Mounted officers in brilliant uniforms were galloping right and left, manœuvering their commands with commendable skill and a splendid show of military discipline. I presume the noisy, exciting performance of this hour was intended to give the troops a "smell of gunpowder" and the dim shadow of a battlefield.

I think it was some time in September, in the fall of 1836, at a general muster at Gorham, that I remember something of the Portland Mechanic Blues, usually designated in the country as Portland Blues. They came from this city to the Gorham muster field in barges, each drawn by four horses; they landed and formed company in front of "Broad's Tavern" near the present terminus of the street railroad. Their splendid navy blue uniforms were artistically trimmed with gilt braid. The caps were of the same color and adorned with fountain plumes. Their large purple company banner was bespangled with gilt stars and other designs. The even height of the soldiers (for every one looked just like his fellow-soldier) with their well kept guns and equipments, created a very favorable impression and gave to them a good "send off." As attractive as all this was it

fell into insignificance in comparison with their perfectly magnificent military discipline. Officers and men vied with each other in doing well their part. Certainly it was to the credit of any city to have within its limits so fine a company of men.

I recall one fine September morning when the troops gathered in the streets of Saccarappa Village. The place of muster at that time was in the field of Capt. John Warren, sometimes called "Warren's old cellar." Company after company came pouring in until Main Street was literally packed with soldiers and officers, from Church Street to where the Rochester Railroad now crosses the street at West End.

Gen. Edward T. Smith was in command, and on that day he wore a new full-dress uniform,— blue coat with heavy epaulets, buff leather breeches, high top military boots and a Napoleon hat. When mounted on his fine, magnificently equipped horse, it is no exaggeration to say he was as noble looking as any officer that ever bore his title. General Smith was a man of true military dignity and a very efficient officer. As the day advanced, colonels and captains were at their posts, regiments were formed, the stars and stripes of "Old Glory" with the regimental banners added to the grandeur of the occasion. General Smith and staff rode to the front; the word "Forward" passed rapidly from rank to rank until the whole body of troops was in motion. The musicians played a lively march, and old Saccarappa never saw a sight more grand than the moving columns of this division of State troops. The march continued until

they reached the muster field, where the annual parade and drill continued through the day.

Among the points of interest which come to me as I write this sketch, I especially remember the splendid manœuvering of Capt. Nathan Barker's company. Captain Barker was a man of fine culture and noble physique; tall, straight as an arrow, when seen in his official dress, his commanding figure and soldierly bearing always received the respect and admiration of his superior officers. His company, the Westbrook Light Infantry, was the star company of his regiment and always on duty in some conspicuous place.

The splendid music of our modern brass bands was not known in the days of the old-time muster. Occasionally a man was found who played the bugle, accompanied by the clarinet and post horn. But these did not suit the soldiers of that date; they wanted the "bang up" music of the fife and drum. As a rule one fife and two drums furnished music for each company of one hundred men. The tenor drum of that date was about eighteen inches long and fourteen in diameter. The wooden part was maple and consequently quite heavy in comparison with the modern drum. The bass drum was a little larger round than the common flour barrel and nearly as long; this drum was carried horizontally by the drummer. The marching time was kept by beating on both ends; one beat with the right hand and three with the left, with a little variation. First among those who played the fife, I recall the tall, quaint figure of Peter Waterhouse, of Bridgton. Peter had

long, thick red hair, a very freckled face, light blue eyes, and a small, turned up nose. His thin, yellow whiskers, sharp projecting chin and little legs, gave him a peculiar look not to be forgotten in a life-time. He usually played a boxwood fife, so that Peter's hair, whiskers, face and fife were well matched as regards color ; the whole combination being a sort of reddish yellow. But Peter could pull an unlimited amount of good lively music out of that small instrument of his. I can to-day whistle many of those old-fashioned "muster tunes" which I learned from Peter and his little yellow fife more than fifty years ago. Mr. John Russell, of Saccarappa, was always on hand "training days" with his big bass drum ready for a job. A shield and the American eagle, with his beak full of "*E Pluribus Unum*" were artistically painted on the front side of Mr. Russell's drum. This kind old man was justly proud of his ability to pound out in accurate time all the tunes given to him from Peter's fife. One of the most skillful players on the tenor drum whom I remember was William Dyer, a Westbrook man who lived with Capt. John Warren at the old Warren mansion, the home of the late Lewis Warren. Mr. Dyer was quite popular with military men and was known as Bill Dyer, the drummer. He attracted most attention when he beat what he called the long roll to call the companies together. At such times when the tap and rattle of Dyer's drum was heard, soldiers came running from all directions and swiftly forming in ranks gave evidence that they knew what Dyer's long roll meant.

Another point of interest closely associated with old muster days I recall. I was a boy of ten or twelve years when, somewhere in the thirties, Gen. George Jewett, of Gorham, commander of the military divisions in this section, tendered his resignation and Gen. Wendall P. Smith, of Portland, took his place. The regiments were drawn up in long lines extending the whole length of "Captain Robie's muster field" in Gorham. After many years of active service this grand old commander, mounted on a large stone-gray horse, rode with uncovered head the length of the line, his long white hair streaming in the breeze, while officers and soldiers stood at present arms, returning the salutes of their old commander in true military style as company after company were passed in rapid succession. The time-honored old general, with his worn and faded uniform, joined his staff at the north end of the field, from which point all were escorted by the Gorham Light Infantry and Portland Blues to the picket line, where General Jewett dismounted, while, amid cheers alike from citizens and soldiers, the grand old soldier was personally, by members of his old staff, escorted to the headquarters tent and Gen. Wendall P. Smith assumed command of the troops of this division. General Jewett was a man of commanding appearance in face and feature, bearing a very striking resemblance to the late Hon. Neal Dow.

In preparing the field for parade a line of posts was set about a hundred feet apart. A soldier was stationed at each post to guard the line and keep

spectators from crossing the field. The oldest men from the different companies were placed on guard, and it was quite interesting to us boys to see the measured step and military turn on the heel as those old soldiers, at shoulder arms with fixed bayonets, marched to and fro from post to post, on "guard duty."

In those days rum was sold for three cents a glass at nearly all the shanties on the "spectators' ground," consequently there was much quarrelling and some pretty tall fighting during the day. Professional pugilists were not a product of that date, but the other fellow was there and right up on his muscle, without the science. Penfield Green, a boatman on the old Oxford and Cumberland Canal, was a tall, wiry, long-armed, big-fisted fellow, with a "club foot," always ready for a fight, and almost always in one. He once whipped a crew of six sailors at a muster in Gorham, using up two of them so badly that they went to Dr. Baxter's office for repairs before going back to Portland. When they came out of the office with their foreheads and noses decorated with court plaster it was a pretty good advertisement of Penfield's ability to look out for number one. Briefly, Penfield was a hard nut, and not easy to crack.

If any one in this hall ever went to a "general muster" he will remember, with me, the old-time muster gingerbread. Nothing like it has been made this side of that date and we old fellows have long ago said "Good-by, gingerbread."

The times have changed. The old general muster, with all its pleasant associations, has long since stepped down and out. The old-time "muster roll," if called to-day, would find very few to answer the call. The old fife and drum, with its soul-stirring music, is no longer heard in the streets. The elegant brass band, with its brilliant uniforms and modern style music (and a superabundance of scientific discords), has taken its place.

With all the quaint peculiarities of the old-time "militia," we shall do well not to forget that our freedom as a nation is almost wholly due to the undaunted courage and perseverance of these citizen-soldiers, who, in their poverty, at their own personal expense, armed and equipped themselves and have given to us an independent government (all points considered) second to no power on earth. As a natural result, the old soldier has been mustered out, has laid down his old flint-lock musket, and Uncle Sam's boys in blue have caught up the Winchester and the Mauser. The world moves, and the country is still safe.

STEPHEN BACHILER AND THE PLOUGH COMPANY OF 1630

BY V. C. SANBORN OF KENILWORTH, ILLINOIS

Read before the Maine Historical Society, January 2, 1903

Among the companies formed in King Charles's time for colonizing New England was one, of minor importance and small success, whose real history has never been written.

The venture of the Mayflower Pilgrims in establishing Plymouth Colony turned the attention of English Puritans, of all varieties of doctrine, to New England as a fruitful field in which to plant their religious ideas. England teemed with small sects, inconsiderable in themselves, but important collectively as representing that departure from the English Church as established by the Tudors and Stuarts, which led to the Civil War and to greater independence of religious thought.

About the year 1629 there was formed, probably in London, a small body of Dissenters called the "Company of Husbandmen" or the "Company of the Plough." These names were perhaps scriptural in their allusion, for the members of the company seem to have been merchants and artisans, rather than actual husbandmen. Who were the originators of this company, or what was their special doctrine,

does not appear. Their chosen pastor was Rev. Stephen Bachiler, one of the most earnest, as well as one of the most unfortunate of the Puritan ministers of his day.

Stephen Bachiler was born about 1561, and in 1585-6 took his B. A. at St. John's College, Oxford. In 1587 he was presented to the living of Wherwell, Hants, by Lord La Warr,[1] and for eighteen years was vicar of Wherwell. A man of strong impulse and an essential Radical, he must early have embraced the Puritan doctrines, for he was,[2] in 1605, ejected from his pleasant vicarage, probably one of the first ejections resulting from King James's Hampton Court Conference of 1604, when the king declared he would "make the Puritans conform or harry them out of the kingdom." Of Bachiler's family and early life, as of his life from 1605 to 1630, little is known. Tradition says he fled to Holland, to escape the persecution by the English bishops of which Winthrop's History speaks.[3] This association with Holland may not have been because of religious persecution, for some of Bachiler's children lived there; and a search in the church and town records of Flushing and Middelburg reveals nothing concerning the sturdy old Puritan. The children of Stephen Bachiler, as far as known, were:

1. Nathaniel, born about 1589. A merchant of Southampton; married Hester Mercer[4] of Southampton, sister of Peter,

[1] Reg. Bp. Cooper, Winchester, 10.
[2] Reg. Bp. Bilson, Winchester, 18.
[3] Winthrop II, 44.
[4] N. E. H. Gen. Reg. Vols. 47, p. 510-4; 48, p. 274; 49, pp. 137 and 238.

Paul and Rev. Francis Mercer, and of Jane (Mercer) Pryaulx, wife of Capt. Peter Pryaulx of Southampton. Nathaniel Bachiler left children: Nathaniel (who settled in Hampton, New Hampshire), Anne (married Daniel du Cornet of Middelburg, Holland), Stephen, Francis and Benjamin.

2. Deborah, born 1591. Married Rev John Wing (son of Matthew of Banbury, Oxon,)[1] first pastor of the Puritan Church at Flushing; afterward minister of the Puritan Church at The Hague, Holland;[2] died in 1630; ancestor of the Wings, of Cape Cod.

3. Samuel, born about 1592. Minister in Sir Charles Morgan's Regiment in Holland; called to be minister in Middelburg, in 1622, but declined;[3] author of "Miles Christianus," published in 1625.

4. Stephen, born about 1594. Matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, 1610.

5. Theodate, born 1598. Married Captain and Councillor Christopher Hussey, of Hampton, New Hampshire,— perhaps a relative of Christopher Hussey, mayor of Winchester in 1609, 1618 and 1631.

6. Anna, born 1600. Married John Samborne, probably of the Hants family of that name; a widow in 1631 living in the Strand in London; her children settled in Hampton, New Hampshire.

It has seemed to me that Stephen Bachiler, always a loyal Hampshire man, never could have left for long that county which the associations of his early life had endeared to him. It is certain that, in 1622,[4] he was living on a small property of his own in Newton Stacy, but a mile from his old parish of Wherwell: and in the State Papers of 1635 (Domestic Series) we find a petition from Sir Robert Paine,

[1] N. E. H. Gen. Reg. Vol. 45, p. 236-7.
[2] MS. Records, English Church at Flushing.
[3] MS. list of ministers of English Church at Flushing.
[4] Hants Feet of Fines, P. R. O., 1622.

church warden of Barton Stacy, Hants, to the effect that some of his tenants "having been formerly misled by Stephen Bachelor, a notorious inconformist, had demolished a consecrated chapel at Newton Stacy," &c.

But while Bachiler was living in Hampshire and preaching the Puritan faith, the Company of Husbandmen was forming, and they conceived the idea of sending a band of settlers into New England to propagate their ideas. We may believe that, hearing of Bachiler's fame, they asked him to become their pastor; and, though seventy years of age, he at once seized the opportunity and cast in his lot with theirs. His friend, John Winthrop, was then arranging for his own settlement in New England, and Bachiler doubtless dreamed of establishing there his colony of Husbandmen, in an Arcadia of religious freedom. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was the principal figure in the "Council of Plymouth," and was one of King James's grantees of vast estates in the New World. To Gorges the Plough Company turned, and on June 26, 1630, they obtained a patent to a tract of land, the best description of which is given as follows in an abstract of title prepared in 1686, by George Turfrey, attorney for the heirs of Col. Alexander Rigby.[1]

The Earle of Warwick and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, for themselves and the rest of the Councell of Plimouth by indents dated 26 June the 6 year of the raigne of Charles I, grant unto Bryan Binckes, John Dye, John Smith and others their associates two

[1] Me. Hist. Soc. Papers, 2d Series, Vol. 7, p. 134; also State Papers (America), 1674.

Islands in the River Sagedahock near the South side thereof about sixty miles from the sea, and also a tract containing forty miles in length and forty miles in breadth upon the South side of the River Sagedahock, with all Bayes, rivers, Ports, Inletts &c together with all Royalties and Privileges within the precincts thereof.

The terms of this patent were broad, and, as in other cases, infringed on later grants, causing much litigation. A literal interpretation of the Plough Patent would include a large and valuable tract in southeastern Maine, taking in the present city of Portland. Armed with this authority the company bought a small ship, equipped it with ordnance and provisions and sent its first load of colonists to the new province. Ten or twelve of the "Company of the Plough" formed this little band. They probably reached the Sagadahoc in the winter of 1630-1, and found the land wild and sterile. Disheartened at the prospect, they made a feeble attempt at settling there, but after a few weeks or months they gave up the idea and embarked again in their little vessel for the more fertile and prosperous settlements near Boston. The first record of them is in Winthrop's History, dated July 6, 1631: "A small ship of 60 tons arrived at Natascot, Mr. Graves, master. She brought ten passengers from London. They came with a patent for Sagadahock, but, not liking the place, they came hither. Their ship drew 10 feet, and went up to Watertown; but she ran on ground twice by the way." These were the company called the Husbandmen and their ship called the Plough. Thus far the original entry in Winthrop's journal; but a

later hand (perhaps his own in after years), added this opprobrium, "Most of them proved familists and vanished away." That they were "familists" in the offensive German sense, we have no proof except this entry, but perhaps this term may give a clue to the special religious organization which should have bound the Husbandmen together, but did not. Their small ship, the Plough, after visiting Watertown, dropped back to Charlestown, started thence for the West Indies, but returned after three weeks, "so broke," Winthrop says, "she could not return home."

Thus the summer of 1631 found the first colonists of the Plough in the Massachusetts Bay, their ship worthless and their ideas of settlement abandoned.

In the meantime the company in London, imagining that all had gone well with their brethren in New England, went on vigorously with the work. Stephen Bachiler threw all his influence into the scale, and enlisted some of his Hampshire parishioners and adherents as possible members of the company. His efforts at this time may have produced the grant of arms referred to in Silvanus Morgan's "Sphere of Gentry," of 1661, one of the most rare and fantastic of early heraldic works. This author says that the arms,— *Vert, a plough in feese: in base the sun rising, or* — "appertain to Stephen Bachelor, the first pastor of the Church of Ligonia in New England; which bearing was answerable to his profession in plowing up the fallow ground of their hearts, and the Sun, appearing in that part of the World, symbolically alluded to his motto, '*Sol*

Justitiæ Exoritur.'" It is worth noting that Morgan, in the same volume, devotes some space to a handsome plate of the arms of the London Pryaulx family, Bachiler's connections. Among the prospective members of the Plough Company, probably brought in by Bachiler, was a near kinsman, Richard Dummer, of Bishopstoke, Hants, son of John Pyldrin, *als* Dummer of Swathling, Hants,[1] who was a wealthy yeoman or gentleman. A man of substance, Dummer's name gave strength to the Plough Company.

For some unexplained reason the company in London had not heard by March, 1632, of the failure of their first colony, and we find them pushing the work and straining their narrow fortunes to make it a success. Bachiler had sold his lands in Newton Stacy[2] and invested the proceeds in his new venture. Early in March the second party of colonists left England, part in the Whale, which reached Boston, May 26, 1632, bringing Richard Dummer, Nathaniel Harris, John Smith (son of Francis Smith, a miller), Anthony Jupe, Ann Smith (wife of John Smith who came in the Plough), and her daughter, and Nathaniel Merriman, son of George Merriman, of London. The William and Francis, which left London, March 9, 1632, and reached Boston, June 5, 1632, brought among its sixty passengers, Stephen Bachiler and his wife, his grandchild, Nathaniel Bachiler, his three Samborne grandchildren, and several of his Hampshire adherents. He also brought a

[1] N. E. H. Gen. Reg. Vol. 35, pp. 254-271.
[2] Hants Feet of Fines, P. R. O., 1630-1.

shipment of company goods, as will appear later, and two more company men, Thomas Payne, of Sandwich, and John Banister, a Yorkshire man. Bachiler brought with him a letter from the London Company[1] which I print in full as giving minute particulars of the colonization.

GRACE, MERCY and PEACE be multiplied forever.

London, March the 8th, 1631.

Christian Brethren: Mr. Crispe, John Cermen, John Smyth and the rest of our Society:

We, as members of the same body send greeting in the name of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, hoping and wishing your health as our own; and as at this time we all are, thanks be unto God. Many things we have to write you of but our time hath been so taken up with forwarding, helping and providing things fitting for these our brethren that are now to come unto you that we shall not possibly express or put that to ink and paper which we desired; we hope that they will relate to you anything material that we fail to write.

And first let us not forget to rember you of your and our duty, that we return humble and hearty thanks unto Almighty God, that hath filled the heart of our reverend pastor so full of zeal, of love and extraordinary affection towards our poor society. Notwithstanding all the opposition, all the subtle persuasions of abundance of opposers that have been stirred up against us partly through self-love not affecting the general servitude and partly through that untimely breach of our brother Cerman, yet he remaineth constant,— persuading and exhorting, — yea and as much as in him lyeth, constraining all that love him to join together with this society. And seeing the Company is not able to bear his charge over, he hath strained himself to provide provision for himself and his family, and hath done his utmost endeavor to help over as many as he possibly can, for your further strength and encouragement. And, although it may be if he had stayed one year longer you might have been

[1] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th Series, Vol. 7.

better provided to have received him, yet through his great care of all your good he will by no means stay longer from you. O let us not forget this unspeakable mercy of God towards us. We hope the Lord will make him an especial instrument to unite you all in true love to God and unto one another; which will be our strongest walls and bulwarks of defence against all our enemies. And we hope you will not forget to show your love unto him and to take notice of the charges he is now at, and to appoint for him and his, as he shall desire, such shares and parts of shares as shall belong unto his for the charges; and that his man-servant and his maid-servant may be received as members of the Company and have such shares or parts as in that case provided for every member. As for his neighbors that may come with him, they promise all to join with you, but because they do desire first to see how you agree together in love they are not joined to our body; and the Lord of his mercy grant that there may be no occasion on your parts but they may join with you. Mr. Dummer's promise is also to join with you if there be any reason for it. The Lord unite you all together; then shall you put to shame and silence many that do now shamefully rise up against us.

Thomas Jupe hath also sent you a pledge of his own coming in due time,— his eldest son, unto his last £20 in goods and moneys dispersed for the Company's use. There is also Nathaniel Harrese which we have sent you upon a new adventure of £10 by his father, who is now a Sargeant of the Roale and a member of the Company. There is also John Smyth, son of Francis Smyth, miller, upon a new adventure of £10 by one John Asten, millman; and there is Nathaniel Merreman upon the adventure of Petter Wouster, being now made up to £10; all which being members of the Company according to their years and abilities, we desire you to receive them and employ them. Two of them are very able to work and we hope you will find them willing. We desire that they should be put to it according to their abilities, and the other two also according to their strength we desire they should be employed. There is also Ann Smith, our brother John Smith's wife and her daughter; she, being encouraged by Mr. Dummer's promise to give her her passage in part, hath resolved to go unto her husband, whom we cannot deny,

and have put her upon the old adventure of Mr. Dummer for herself and her daughter.

All these are coming in the "Whale" with Mr. Dummer; they are all furnished with bedding and apparel very sufficiently, and, being all able to labour, we hope will be helpful to the Company. There is also one Thomas Payne of Sandwige, experienced in the making of salt, which hath brought in £10 and is coming in the "William & Francis" whom we desire you to receive as a member of our company; only, in regard that he hath a wife and four small children, which he desireth to be transported 12 months hence,— we have only conditionally received him,— that if between this and that time you do find that he will not be a more help unto the Company than his charge will be hinderance, and if he cannot bring in £20 for his wife and children, that then, he having worked one year for his passage the Company shall give him back his £10 again and so let him shift for himself.

Some provision for these we have sent you; what provision you also want we desire you to take of Mr. Dummer and send us over your commodities, that we may pay both for that and some old debts which we have made hard shift for unto this time. Pray neglect not but by what messenger soever Mr. Thomas, master of the "William & Francis" doth send over his letters to have his freight paid let us by the same messenger if not before receive some account from you, for we were constrained to make use of the tonnage money of 20 passengers to pay old debts, until a certificate be sent over.

The goods you shall receive in the "William & Francis" that is the Company's is,—

4 hogsheads pease, which cost, cask and all The cask is marked with two plows marked on one head, whereas all other goods have one plow on each head,	£ 6	5	0
And 12 yards of broadcloth at 5.6, comes unto	3	6	0
200 yards of list at 7.6 per 100 (which list we thought it may be good to make Indian Breeches or blankets of; I pray send word if it be a commodity worth sending more of)	15		0
1 fries coat, 1 pr. breeches,	19		0

These goods are packed up into hogsheads amongst some of Mr. Bachiller's goods and some things of Thomas Jupe which he hath sent upon his particular adventure; so soon as you can sell them there is to the value of £10 *ad mone* (*sic*) as you will see by his particular letters. Mr. Harding hath sent also a parcel of commodities upon his particular, as by his letter you shall receive directions.

We have you notice by Mr. Allerton, and we hope you have long since received it, that we have had much todo about our patent; and that there was one Bradshaw[1] that had procured letters patent for a part (as we supposed) of our former grant; and so we think still, but he and Sir Ferdinando think it is not in our bounds. He was frustrate of his first purpose of coming over, but is now joined with two very able captains and merchants, who will set him over, and we suppose will be there as soon as this ship if not before. We cannot possibly relate the labour and trouble we have had to establish our former grant; many rough words we have had from Sir Ferdinando at the first and to this hour he doth affirm that he never gave consent that you should have above 40 miles in length and 20 in breadth and saith that his own hand is not to your patent, if it have any more. So we have shown our good wills and have procured his love and many promises that we shall have no wrong. We bestowed a sugar-loaf upon him of some 16 shillings' price, and he hath promised to do us all the good he can. We can procure nothing under his hand, but in our hearing he gave order unto Mr. Ayres to write unto Captain Neale of Pascatoway, that Bradshaw and we might be bounded, that we may not trouble each other; and hath given the Captain command to search your patent; what it is you have under my Lord's hand and his. This controversy must be ended between yourselves and such governors of their Pemaquid as they have appointed.

We have given Sir Ferdinando this reason why we desired so large a patent,— because that the greatest part of it was not habitable, being rock, where no man could live; and he answered that we should doubt not but he allowed enough for us all, and in the best part of it, according to our desire; but if we should have as much as we say they have granted, then do we include divers of

[1] Capt. Rich. Bradshaw; see Me. Hist. Soc. Papers, Vol. 7.

their former plantations, which they never intended. We shall pray to God to direct you and to help you; this business doth require the assistance of all of you to join together in one; we hope the Lord in mercy will so dispose of it.

We have sent in the "Whale"			
70 stone of ocum at 10d & the cartage	£ 2	19	8
3 cwt. of cassel, all charges is	1	14	0
1 firkin of flour of 5 pecks & a firkin of pease		14	0

There is also a poor Yorkshire man: — his name is John Banester,— he hath made such extraordinary moan to come over that Mr. Bachiler and Mr. Dummer have had compassion upon him and paid for his passage. If you think that you will be able to receive him, for the good of it,— we do then desire you to let him be the Company's servant, and put him to such employment as you think good, and upon such conditions as you think fit.

Goodman Tamadge and his wife take it very unkindly that you should keep his malt and not let his son have a small quantity of plattewer at his request, to be paid at return. How you will answer this unkindness we know not; we do desire you to give no occasions for such unkindness. Here is now the people themselves come unto you. We assure you they be very honest plain downright-dealing people; if they find you loving and kind and upright towards them, then will you have their company,— if not I pray consider you will not only lose them, but wonderful discouragement it will be to others for time to come.

It may be upon first view you may suppose them to be a charge, in regard the men look aged and the children young but . . . . . and by the next ship you will receive our account of the whole year; and so the Lord protect you and defend you for ever and ever.

Your loving brethren
John Dye
Thomas Jupe
Grace Hardwin
John Roach.

The Massachusetts Colony Court had already (October 18, 1631,) ordered that "there should be

taken out of the estate of Mr. Crispe and his company the sum of £ 12.1.5 and delivered to John Kirman as his proper goods, and that the whole estate be inventoried, whereof the said John Kirman is to have an eighth part." On the arrival of Dummer and Bachiler the Court further directed (June 5, 1632,) "That the goods of the Company of Husbandmen shall be inventoried by the Beadle, and preserved for the use and benefit of the said Company." We may imagine from this that Crispe, Bryan Binckes, Peter Johnson, with the other one or two of the original emigrants of the Plough ship had held together in Boston until Dummer and Bachiler came over. But now the whole matter was discussed, the assets of the company turned over to the courts, and Crispe probably started back for England to acquaint the London members with the failure of the colony. On July 3, 1632, three orders were entered by the Court: first, that John Smith (the younger, son of Francis,) be apprenticed to Rev. John Wilson; second, that Bryan Binckes and Peter Johnson should bind themselves in ten pounds that they should not depart out of Massachusetts without leave from the Governor (Winthrop) and should be ready to attend upon the Court when called, to account for the company's goods in their hands; third, that John Smith should likewise be bound in ten pounds to be accountable for the company's goods remaining in his hands.

Dummer and Carman settled in Roxbury, under Rev. John Eliot. Bachiler and his little flock

established themselves in Lynn; Binckes and Johnson went to Virginia; and the next record of the company appears from the following letter,[1] apparently signed by all the London members and sent as soon as Crispe had reported the condition of affairs.

London, Dec. 1, 1632.

To the Right Worshipful Governor at Massachusetts.

Grace, mercy and peace be multiplied.

Right Worshipful Sir:

Whereas there has come over from New England of late divers reports of the harsh dealing of Master Dummer against our loving brethren, Bryan Binckes, Petter Johnson and John Smyth, in that he hath not only taken from them that which was left them for their maintenance, by the Company, but also retained that which we sent; and do keep in their hands all that there is left of the Company's and retain it, contrary to that order that we sent over by Master Allerton. And whereas we have received, the day before the writing hereof one letter from John Smyth which doth for the main part justify that which we have heard, and also another from Master Bachiller not denying the same; and having received encouragement by divers that there is justice to be had; we therefore appeal to you for justice.

There is other letters also sent in this ship, which were written three weeks before this, wherein we did by all the power that we have to command them to deliver our goods back again to be disposed according to the order of the Company. But being now certified that Bryan Binckes and Petter Johnson are gone to Virginia according to the Company's order, we desire you that whatsoever there is left of the Company's estate should be there sold and returned into England either in bills of exchange or in merchantable notes, unto John Dye, dwelling in Fillpot Lane, or unto John Roach, Grace Harding or Thomas Juppe, dwelling in Crooked Lane.

These things that are there of the Company's to our knowledge are these,—

[1] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, Vol. 7.

First, there is the ordnance with their carriages, four cables and anchors, which stand us here in England little less than	£160		
There is also a parcel of —— izion sent by Mr. Allerton	30		
A parcel of pease,	13		
And a parcel of broadcloth and a coat and list	5	10	0
And a parcel of platewares, of Thomas Juppe's own particular adventure,	11	16	8
And a parcel of Master Harding's goods	16		
There was also a parcel of the Company's goods vetaced by one Muzze	10		

There is much other goods there of the Company's which we cannot give you notice of. We desire you to call John Smyth to account. By his own letter he hath £20 worth of the Company's estate which, although we desire not that it should be presently taken from him, because we pity his poor estate, yet we refer it unto your wise consideration to order it to be disposed towards the payment of Master Bachiller if you see fit, unto whom we do owe £60; it was something more, but the rest we have laid out for him in his freight to the value of £7. We therefore desire that he should be paid £60.

There is goods also to the value of £40, as we are informed, that Master Dummer hath taken from Bryan Binckes and Petter Johnson. There is also the old ship and divers debts owing us which we desire you to call John Smyth to account for. And for as much as there is owing £200 by the Company in London upon bond upon our security, and is yearly a great burden unto us, we desire you therefore that our goods may not longer be there retained; for the debts due upon bond the Company's goods must pay; although we lose all, let us not dishonor God and disgrace religion.

There hath been a great deal of complaint and much evil surmizing about the dealing of our brethren departed to Virginia; but we wish we may have no worse from thence; we have fair account and good reason for what they did; and for profit or loss, God's will be done. We hope that that part of the estate carried away to Virginia will be as well improved for all the company, according to their proportion as they will improve their own that do so surmize of their brethren; time will try all things.

We desire you further to take notice that when Master Bachiller doubled his adventure and made it £100 it was upon condition that we and Master Dummer should do likewise; we did double our adventure, yet after some further consideration, Mr. Dummer sent his money into the hands of a friend that would not deliver it to us without bond to pay it again. Now, Mr. Dummer promising as well as we to double his adventure and to have a part of the loss (if it so fall out) as this enclosed letter will testify, being the letter of his own hand, sent with the money, we desire to refer ourselves to you there to judge what is fit for him to have. If to venture it as we are constrained to do, then at the end of the term of years we shall be accountable; at the least we think he should bear a part of the loss as well as we. We hope you will be pleased to take this pains for us to put an end to this controversy that is a greater grief unto us than all those other crosses that have befallen us.

There was in all £1400 of joint stock; of this but the value of £250 carried to Virginia, according to your prising when you paid Carman. We leave all to your Christian wisdom, the Lord direct you. And so we rest:

Your Christian friends, for ourselves and the rest of the Company of Husbandmen.

Joh: Robinson	Joh: Crispe
Danl. Binckes	John Roach
Roger Binckes	Grace Hardwin.
Nath'el Whetham	Tho: Jupe
Henry Ffowkes	Joh: Dye

Bryan Kipling.

The "harsh dealing of Master Dummer" here referred to probably means that, to secure the investment of himself and Bachiler, he had seized on the patent and what assets the company had. No Court proceeding appears to have followed the receipt of this letter, but probably Winthrop's justice and wisdom arranged an equitable division of the property.

Bachiler had in the fall of 1632 come under the displeasure of the Court for some heresies of doctrine. He soon found the Massachusetts Puritans were as rigid in their tenets of religion as the English Church, and they ordered that he "forbear exercising his gifts as a pastor" temporarily. Early in 1633 this prohibition was removed and June 6, 1633, we find him writing to Winthrop as follows[1] to protest against an unjust seizure of part of the company's goods.

To the Right Worshipful, my very loving friend and our Governor, at his house in Boston, These:

The Wisdom of God's spirit direct and guide you in all your affairs, now and forever. Amen.

Right Worshipful and my loving friend, Mr. Governor:

I have sent you this enclosed letter from our company at London to that part of our Company which was then supposed to be here the last year, to certify to you that the four hogsheads of pease, (which are assigned to my brother Wilson in the right of the youth that is with him) do no way belong to him, but to me and the rest of our Company,—and, to speak the truth, to me only and properly, by reason of the Company's debt to me which all that I have (by your favour) seized on will not countervayle my debt by a great deal, in case I could sell the goods presently, which I know not how long they will lie and—worse and worse before they will make any satisfaction to me.

The goods which are looked after for the boy came not in the ship wherein these pease came, but, as I take it, in the "Whale" if any were sent. Beside these pease, coming with my goods in the "William & Francis" (the ship wherein I came) were the 12 yards of cloth mentioned in the letter, and 200 yards of list, etc. I paid both for the tonnage of them to the shipmaster and for the carrying of them from the ship to New Town: the cloth also and the list, I took into my keeping and wear of it. And,

[1] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, Vol. 7.

wrapping up the letter with many others, forgot to seize upon the pease till within these eight or nine days, when, reading over the letter for some other occasion, I lit upon that passage which mentioneth the pease and the cloth and list, etc., whereupon I demanded of my wife,— "What became of these pease mentioned" She answered,— "Certainly they are the pease which lie unowned at New Town," whereupon I sent to compare the marks of the letter with the marks upon the pease hogsheads, and found them perfectly to agree; and there understood that the pease, for want of an owner, were, by your authority, committed to my brother to be disposed of in right of his servant; and that this day, being the third of this fourth month, my brother sent me this message, that, forasmuch as these pease were assigned to him by the authority of your Worship and the Court — though he saw the contents of this letter,— he would sell them and stand answerable for the money that they yield.

My request is therefore unto you that, forasmuch as the pease do clearly appear to be no goods of the boy's, but to belong to our company and that I lay claim to them as to the rest, not in respect of my adventure, but for the debt of near an hundred pounds which I lent the Company in as good gold as can be weighed with scales; and that I paid both for the tonnage and portage of them; and only through forgetfulness left them thus long; and divers other considerations of reason which I forbear for tediousness to urge; that you would be pleased to prevent the withholding of them from the right owners,— at least to stay the sale of them, forasmuchas I have even disposed of part of them and the residue are exceedingly wanting in mine own congregation, who, upon the understanding of the business thus coming to light, have been earnest with me for them, and I have accordingly granted their requests.

There being equity in all that I require, as I trust will appear upon the sight of that passage in the letter, I trust I shall not doubt of your uprightness toward me, and between my brother and me, whose care for his servant I do much approve, though I cannot see the means which he useth to recover his servants doubtful goods to be so right as I could wish. For my part, were it my case, as it is his, I should easily yield upon the sight

of such evidence as I conceive doth appear, that the goods can no way belong to him.

One thing more; whereas I understand that you put apart the last day of this week for inquiry of God to discover a great and difficult secret, we will, by God's grace, assist you upon that day in like manner. And thus, with my loving service and Christian respect unto you; with mine and my wife's hearty salutations to your blessed and beloved yoke-fellow, I cease any further to trouble you, and rest at your service & comandmt. in Christ, His most unworthy servant,

STEPHEN BACHILER.

Sir: — I understand since the writing of my letter that it is conceived that the goods of the boy came wholly or in part to me,— which if it may but probably appear, I will make 7 fold satisfaction; verily it is not so. Neither did I (but my wife) meddle with mine own goods; and my wife saith from Mrs. Smyth of Watertown that the Boy's father and an uncle of his or some such friend, did venture £10 into the Company with the boy. So that I cannot conceive how any such goods should be ex———d; but for my part I —— them and these goods belonging to our Company I hope they shall not be —— ——

No further mention of the Plough Company appears on the Massachusetts Court Records except that on April 7, 1635, Captain Traske was ordered "to pay to John Kerman out of the estate of the Company of Husbandmen the sum of £24.11.5 being the remainder of the eighth part given by the Court to Kerman" it being noted that if the total assets of the Company failed to equal £250, Kerman was to make restitution.

Dummer took an active part in the affairs of the Massachusetts Colony. He was an adherent of Sir Henry Vane and in 1636 was "disarmed" for his espousal of the Antinomian ideas of Anne Hutchinson

and moved to Newbury. All this time Dummer seems to have held the Plough Patent, but, in 1638, when he returned to England to bring to America his brother, nephew and niece, he took the patent with him, and we presume delivered it to the remaining members of the company. In a petition to the Massachusetts General Court in 1683,[1] Jeremy Dummer stated that "his father, Richard Dummer, was wholly intrusted with the Plow Patent and the management of sundry concerns relating to the same, by virtue of a power derived from the patentees; and thereafter (in 1638) the said Patent being ordered home for England, the patentees granted him 800 acres and more, laid out at Casco Bay."

Between 1632 and 1638, the terms of the Plough Patent were discovered by George Cleeve,[2] an ambitious man who early settled on Casco Bay. He found that the original patentees had abandoned the colony and thereupon induced them to sell their grant. The Commonwealth party was then dominant in England, and Gorges was in disfavor. A Puritan commander, Alexander Rigby, purchased the patent and in 1643 appointed Cleeve as his deputy-lieutenant of the Province of Lygonia.

This transaction is thus described in the abstract of title above referred to as drawn up by Turfrey: "John Dye and John Smyth, Thomas Jupe and others, survivors of Bryan Binckes and others their associates, do on the 7 of April, 1643 grant unto

[1] Me. Hist. Soc. Papers, Baxter MSS.
[2] Gorges Society; Life of Cleeve.

Alexander Rigby of Rigby in Lancashire, the said Province of Ligonia &c. The said Alexander Rigby makes several leases and grants of several parcels of land within the said Province of Ligonia; and expends valuable sums of money; and draws up constitutions which were on the 30 of July, 1644 confirmed by the Earl of Warwick and others, by which Alexander Rigby and his heirs and assigns are appointed Presidents of the Province of Ligonia."

Cleeve attempted to enforce these claims upon the Casco settlers and to attach Bachiler and Dummer to his cause by asking the former to become pastor of the settlement on Casco Bay; but he met determined opposition from the Massachusetts authorities, who desired control of the whole Province of Maine. The case was appealed to England, and the result appears thus in Turfrey's abstract,— "There arising some difference as to bounds between Alexander Rigby and John Gorges, son and heir of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the same was heard by the Earl of Warwick and the then Commissioner for settling affairs of foreign plantations, and they did, by deed in writing 27 March 1646, adjudge that the title of the Province of Ligonia was in the said Rigby and his heirs and all the inhabitants were commanded to submit to the government and jurisdiction of the said Rigby."

Continued opposition was made, and resulted in much litigation, until the whole Province of Maine was deeded to Massachusetts in 1686. This finally wiped out the Plough Patent, which disappears from view. Ill success seems to have been the fate of

most of the companies formed for colonizing New England. Chalmers and Egerton in their histories of British Colonies dwell at some length on this fact. Gorges' and Mason's colonies likewise failed, so that the luckless Plough Colony had abundance of company in its misfortunes.

Having thus recited the history of the patent let us turn to the individual members and colonists of the company and trace what little is known of them.

We left Bachiler in Lynn, where he set up a church for himself and the few adherents who had followed him to the New World. Here he found his daughter Theodate and her husband, Christopher Hussey, who had come to America in 1631. After four years of conflict with the Bay authorities, Bachiler moved to Ipswich and then to Newbury, having "laid down the ministry." At Newbury were his kinsmen, Dummer and Hussey, and others from Bachiler's part of England; and after two years this stout old Dissenter, at the age of eighty, conceived the idea of starting a plantation of his own a day's march farther north. Accordingly in 1638-9 the plantation was begun, and in 1639 at Bachiler's request and in honor of the English city of Southampton, it was called Hampton.[1] Among the new settlers were many Suffolk men, and one of these, Timothy Dalton, A. M., of St. John's College, Cambridge, was chosen as Bachiler's assistant. Open conflict resulted between these two men, both able and obstinate. The culmination of the whole matter was a charge of

[1] N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. 1, p. 151.

immorality made in 1641 against Bachiler.[1] This charge, so difficult to disprove, so easily made, was probably without real foundation, but it resulted in Bachiler's excommunication. He was opposed to the existing authorities, was a man of great ability and iron will, outspoken and passionate; they feared him and wreaked their vengeance on him. Immediately he was urged by two other parishes to become their pastor, but he refused to go until by public trial he was vindicated. Writing to Governor Winthrop late in 1643,[2] he said:

"I see now how I can depart hence" (that is from Hampton, to accept one of the calls he had received, to Casco and to Exeter), "till I have or God for me, cleared and vindicated the cause and wrongs I have suffered of the church I yet live in; that is, from the Teacher, who hath done all and been the cause of all the dishonor that hath accrued to God, shame to myself, and grief to all God's people, by his irregular proceedings and abuse of the power of the church in his hand,— by the major part cleaving to him, being his countrymen and acquaintance in old England. My cause, though looked slightly into by diverse Elders and brethren, could never come to a judicial searching forth of things, and an impartial trial of his allegations and my defence; which, if yet they might, I am confident before God, upon certain knowledge and due proof before yourselves, the Teacher's act of his excommunicating me (such as I am, to say no more of myself), would prove the foulest matter,— both for the cause alleged of that excommunication, and the impulsive cause,— even wrath and revenge. Also, the manner of all his proceedings thoughout, to the very end, and lastly his keeping me still under bonds,— and much worse than here I may mention for divers causes,— than ever was committed against any member of a church. Neglecting of the complaints of the afflicted in such a State,— wherein Magistrates, Elders, and

[1] Winthrop, II, 445.

[2] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, Vol. 7.

brethren all are in the sincerest manner set to find out sin, and search into the complaints of the poor,— not knowing father, nor mother, church nor Elder,— in such a State, I say,— in such a wine-cellar to find such a cockatrice, and not to kill him,— to have such monstrous proceedings passed over, without due justice,— this again stirs up my spirit to seek for a writ *ad melius inquirendum*. Towards which the enclosed letter tendeth, as you may perceive. Yet if your wisdoms shall judge it more safe and reasonable to refer all my wrongs (conceived) to God's own judgment, I can submit myself to be overruled by you. To conclude,— if the Apostle's words be objected, that this is thanksworthy if a man for conscience sake shall endure grief, suffering wrongfully,— and therefore I ought to endure, without seeking any redress or justice against the offender,— I profess it was more absolutely necessary so to suffer, when the Church had no civil power to seek unto, than in such a land of righteousness as our New England is."

This public hearing was denied him, and though his excommunication was soon withdrawn, he left Hampton, broken down with the weight of his persecutions. As an evidence of the respect in which he was held, he was, just before this, chosen referee in a dispute between Trelawney and Cleeve as to boundaries in Maine.

Rev. Robert Jordan,[1] writing to an English friend about the trial, says: "Mr. Stephen Bachiler was, I must say, a grave, reverend and a good man; but whether more inclined to justice or mercy, or whether carried aside by secret insinuations, I must refer to your own judgment. Sure I am that Cleeve is well nigh able to disable the wisest brain."

Considering that this letter, written July 31, 1642, is that of the defeated party, and that Jordan was

[1] Me. Hist. Soc. Pope's Trelawney MSS.

well placed to know what his real character was, a year after the slanders against him, there could be few testimonies more convincing.

Bachiler settled in Portsmouthand contracted an unfortunate third marriage, at the age of eighty-six, with a woman of forty. He soon discovered the character of this adventuress, and prayed for a divorce, which the Massachusetts authorities with great injustice denied.

After twenty years of life in New England, Bachiler found himself at the age of ninety poor and dishonored. His effort to seek peace in America from the persecutions of the bishops had brought him renewed conflict with a bitter and bigoted sect. His house, library and goods had been destroyed by fire. The Plough Company from which he had hoped so much, failed and cost him a large sum of money. He was linked to a woman whose immorality had been proved in court but from whom he could not obtain a divorce. He determined to return to England and end his days there, and left America, in 1654, with his grandson, Stephen Samborne. Tradition says he died at Hackney, in 1660.[1]

Returning to the other members of the Plough Company, the following record gives, in alphabetical order, the names of all whom we know to have been of that connection, and recites all that is found concerning them.

[1] N. E. H. Gen. Reg., Vol. 12, p. 272.

Austen, John. An English "millman." Apparently a member of the company. Sent over John Smyth, the younger, in 1632.

Banister, John. "A poor Yorkshire man." Sent in William and Francis, 1632, by Bachiler and Dummer.

Binckes, Bryan. Perhaps an original patentee: certainly a colonist in the Plough in 1630. Went to Virginia in 1632. Probably a brother of the two next mentioned, perhaps a London man (the name is found in London Registers).

Binckes, Daniel. Signed the second company letter printed above.

Binckes, Roger. Signed the second company letter printed above. (Q. Is he the Roger Binckes who was a paymaster in Cromwell's army?)

Carman or Kerman, John. An original colonist on the Plough, 1631. Settled in Roxbury and was deputy to Massachusetts Court, 1635 and 1636. Moved to Hempstead, L. I.[1] Obtained from the Massachusetts Court one-eighth of the company's goods.

Crispe, John. An original member and patentee. Came over in the Plough, 1630, and returned in 1632 to England. Signed the second company letter printed above. (Q. Was he the John Crispe (a relative of Sir Nicholas Crispe) who was afterwards a merchant adventurer to Africa?)

Dye, John. An original member and patentee: but never came to America. A London merchant living in Philpot Lane, near the headquarters of the Virginia Company. Signed both the company's

[1] Ondedonk's Annals of Hempstead, L. I.

letters printed herein. Probably the John Dye whose name appears on the Registers of S. Thomas the Apostle. Mentioned in will of Nicholas Jupe, 1653.[1]

Fowkes, Henry. Signed the second company letter printed above.

Hardwin, Grace. An original member. Signed both company letters printed above. A wax-chandler, living in Crooked Lane. He and his wife are mentioned in the will of Mildred Hitch.[2]

Harris, Nathaniel. Sent to New England in the Whale, 1632, by his father, "a Sergeant of the Rolle and a member of the Company." No further record.

Johnson, Peter. An original colonist on the Plough, 1630. Went to Virginia in 1632.

Jupe, Anthony. Son of Thomas Jupe. Came over in the Whale, 1632. Lived in Boston with his uncle, Capt. Robert Keayne, founder of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston. Mentioned in the will of his uncle, Nicholas Jupe, of London, 1653, and in the will of Captain Keayne.[3]

Jupe, Thomas. A London merchant living in Crooked Lane; perhaps of the Cornwall family of Jope. Signed both the company letters printed herein. Married Grace, sister of Capt. Robert Keayne, of Boston. Sent his son Anthony to New England in 1632. At their father's death all three children of Thomas Jupe came to live with their uncle, Captain Keayne.

[1] N. E. H. Gen. Reg., Vol. 40, p. 44.
[2] N. E. H. Gen. Reg., Vol. 47, p. 413.
[3] Boston: Rec. Com. Mcl. Papers.

KIPLING, BRYAN. Signed the second company letter printed above.

MERRIMAN, NATHANIEL. Son of George Merriman, of London, cooper. Came to New England on the Whale. Moved to Wallingford, Conn.,[1] and became a prominent settler there.

PAYNE, THOMAS. Of Sandwich, Kent. A salt maker. Came in William and Francis, 1632. Settled in Lynn, Mass.[2]

ROACH OR ROCH, JOHN. Signed both the company letters printed herein. Lived in Crooked Lane.

ROBINSON, JOHN. Signed both the company letters printed above.

SMITH, JOHN, the elder. An original colonist on the Plough, 1630. Wife Ann and daughter came on the Whale, 1632. Vanishes among the many other Smiths.

SMITH, JOHN, the younger. Son of Francis Smith, miller. Came on the Whale, 1632. Servant to Rev. J. Wilson, in Watertown.

TALMAGE, WILLIAM. An original colonist on the Plough, 1630. Son of Thomas Talmage, of Hants, and nephew of John Talmage, of Newton Stacy, Hants, probably a parishioner of Stephen Bachiler. Settled in Roxbury and Lynn, Mass.[3]

WHETHAM, NATHANIEL. Signed the second company letter printed above.

WOOSTER, PETER. A member of the company; sent Nathaniel Merriman to New England, in 1632.

[1] History of Wallingford, Conn.
[2] Lewis and Newhall's Hist. of Lynn.
[3] Howell's Hist. of Southampton, L. I.

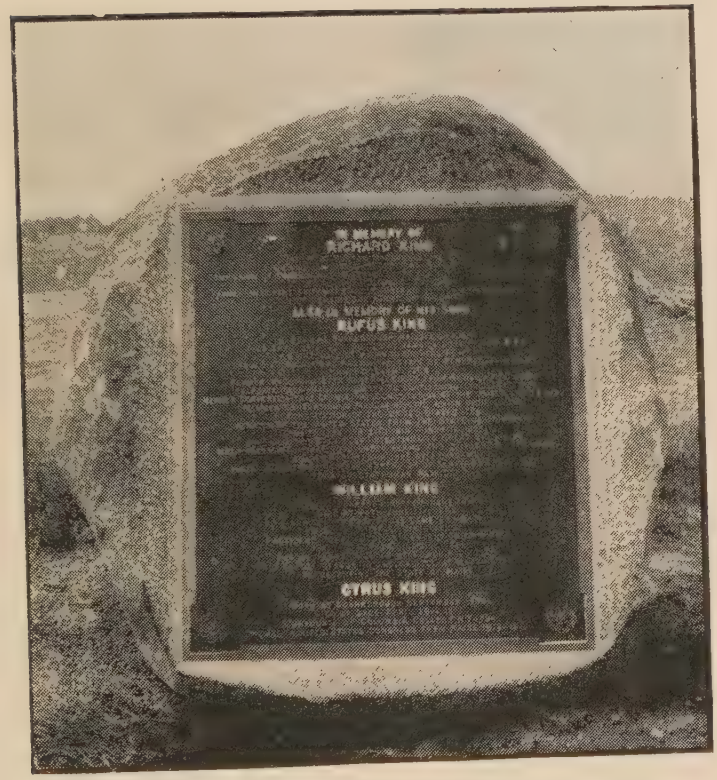
THE BURIAL PLACE OF RICHARD KING

BY HON. AUGUSTUS F. MOULTON

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 6, 1903

In the summer of 1902, just past, Mr. Edward King, of New York, marked the old burial mound of the King family, in Scarborough, by locating upon it a large granite boulder with a bronze tablet, giving the names of Richard King and his distinguished sons, with the dates of birth and death, and a statement of official positions. This mound is located something less than a quarter of a mile from Dunstan Corner, on the westerly side of the Broad Turn Road, so called, and stands out conspicuous and alone at some distance from this road.

The first location of Mr. King when he came to Scarborough was on the hill-crest northerly of the brook and on the westerly side of the old Blue Point Road, where the new electric road crosses the stream near William Edwin Seavey's. There Mr. King had a saw mill, and the traveled road is built upon and over what was the dam of his mill pond. The crossing used to be called Tyler's Bridge. Here Mr. King resided until he built the house at Dunstan Landing, where the King elm stands. The old King house there was a stately two-story wooden house with small windows, having an addition with sloping roof. The addition still remains and forms



King Memorial Boulder and Tablet

part of the house occupied by Mr. Hiram Googins. The main house was torn down and replaced by a new structure, by no means so good as the old house would have been if repaired. Here Richard King resided at the time of his death, March 27, 1775. Gov. William King was born in the old mansion at Dunstan Landing, February 9, 1768, and was only seven years old at the time of his father's death. Rufus King was thirteen years older and had graduated from Harvard College. Richard King left a large estate in lands, but apparently there was left to the family but little ready money. William King consequently received only a common school education.

Toward Dunstan, on the other side of the road, where a group of large elms now stands, was the residence of Dr. Robert Southgate, who married Mary King, the oldest daughter. The present Southgate mansion on the Portland road, was built by Dr. Southgate at a later date.

Richard King left his property at Dunstan to be divided among his heirs. It appears from his correspondence that it was his intention to construct a family tomb at the burial mound, but on account of the disturbed conditions of the times, or for some other reason, this was not done and the mound was used as a burial lot. It had around it a substantial fence, which remained within the memory of people still living. In line with this fence were evidently planted apple trees and a sufficient number of these trees still remain, although dilapidated and decaying,

to trace the outline of the old circular line about the mound. Isabella Bragdon, the first wife of Richard King, died October 19, 1759. Mary Black, the second wife, survived him and died May 25, 1816. Both wives, as well as Mr. King, are undoubtedly interred in the burial mound. Besides these other members of the King family are buried there. No monument or headstones even, mark any of the graves, it having been the family intention to care for the place in some substantial manner.

In the division of the real estate of Richard King among his heirs, the parcel of real estate, upon which was the burial mound, was conveyed in severalty to Gov. William King. May 4, 1836, William King conveyed this parcel to John Donnell. The deed, as recorded in the Cumberland County Registry of Deeds, contains the following reservation : — " Reserving the mound or hill on the premises, containing about an acre, on which there is a tomb containing the remains of my Father and Mother, with the unquestionable right on the part of all the descendants of the family to pass to and from the County road as often as they consider it proper to do so, and to make use of the same."

The ownership of the lot containing this mound passed to Almira, daughter of John Donnell, who married Dr. Stephen Sewall. Mrs. Sewall retained it until March 6, 1880, when she conveyed the same to John W. Leavitt. The conveyance to Mr. Leavitt contained the same reservation as that in the deed from William King. The ownership of the mound

consequently remains in the King family, they having always retained the title.

Mr. Leavitt died in 1902, intestate, and the land surrounding the mound came by descent to his sister and two nieces. When Edward King made known his intention to mark the old burial place with boulder and tablet, it was thought that the Maine Historical Society might be induced to assume perpetual care of this historic spot. The late Josiah H. Drummond drew up a paper, defining the limits as measured from the boulder and giving to the Society the right of access to keep the lot in repair, the same as reserved to the King family. This arrangement was readily agreed to by the heirs, who not only showed commendable public spirit in wishing to have the historic spot kept in good condition, but were also aware that their own property would likewise be improved by such action. The Historical Society at its last annual meeting accepted the trust, so that the ancestral mound will henceforth receive proper care.

On the crest of the mound are four pine trees which have grown to large dimensions, and now with the trees and monumental boulder it forms a conspicuous object which is a source of local pride. It is also a worthy reminder of the distinguished man whose descendants have filled so large a place in the history of our country, as well as of the Maine Historical Society, which has done so much to make perpetual the landmarks and memories of those who in the older days made a record which we of later times cannot afford to forget.

ANCIENT PEMAQUID

BY REV. HENRY O. THAYER

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 6, 1903

The Maine Historical Society exists to collect and preserve history, chiefly of the State of Maine. As it collects, it scrutinizes and tests that no counterfeit enter its treasuries. It has its archives and publications. It approves public memorials of events; would influence the erection of tablets and monuments.

Of late its attention has been turned to ancient Pemaquid. A historic site has become the property of the State, further to disclose, properly to mark, to preserve, to render attractive, invite public interest and legislative cooperation.

Pemaquid, by its tokens of early occupation, its situation by the border line of disputed sovereignty, its checkered career, its relics and ruins, holds high prominence.

But as by various agencies sketches of its history are attempted, details of discoveries reported, theories or conclusions put forth, its importance in our annals declared, much faulty and misleading reaches the public greatly to the regret of careful students. Therefore it has seemed desirable, now when plans and the favor of the State are under discussion, to attempt some statement of what is the voice of history regarding Pemaquid.

First and chief are variant opinions and misapprehensions respecting the antiquity of settlement. Unto this considerable space must be devoted and we note that the Pemaquid of history is that well-known peninsula between Muscongus Bay and the St. John's Bay and River, with an indeterminate extension inland.

Previous to the year 1600, in all extant sources of history, slight and dim are the lines declaring exploration of the coast of Maine, entrance to harbors or rivers, or even first footsteps upon the soil. Of that smaller section, Pemaquid, not a line nor a word, not a name nor event, is found. Whatever may have occurred is wholly veiled, for those years when Cortereal, Gomez, Verrazano, Hawkins, were rovers of the great seas, when Portuguese and Spanish fishermen loaded their ships at Sable Island or Newfoundland.

With the opening years of the seventeenth century Pemaquid emerges to view. The first decade sets forth the name and the place; the second decade has first preparatory steps towards permanent occupation; the third establishes settlements, agriculture, trade, families.

Omitting minor details we find in the first period two chief events. In 1605 occurred the voyage of Capt. George Waymouth, memorable for the continued discussions and contentions it has evoked as well as for its relations to subsequent affairs. There is no hesitation to write with fullest confidence the conclusion to which I am confident all unbiased and

thorough investigators will arrive, that Waymouth's anchorages and exploration were at the St. George's Islands, Harbor and River. Before departure he kidnapped five Indians. Without delay for items of evidence it must be declared that those natives then decoyed belonged to near Pemaquid. We have indeed no name, but the topography and circumstances furnish sufficient proof. Here first does Maine's history, though by so slight a thread, attach itself to Pemaquid.

The second event is the Popham expedition of 1607, that hopeful but ill-starred beginning of the colonial schemes of Popham and Gorges.

Their two vessels separated at the Azores, yet made closely-timed landfall within Monhegan and anchored together, evening and morning, August 6 and 7, at their evident rendezvous, the George's Islands Harbor. Speedily a boat's crew in command of Captain Gilbert, and piloted by Skidwares, one of Waymouth's captives now returning home, pulled out westward to the Pemaquid peninsula, landed and crossed to the western side. Two days later Popham and Gilbert led similar parties, but by sea around Pemaquid Point, to the "river of Pemaquid," as the journalist writes it. Here at their encampment was the local tribe with their chief, Nahanada, also a Waymouth captive restored the previous year. The voyage of Waymouth, with its infamy of Indian stealing, yet furnished to these colonists a pilot and a messenger of peace to the natives of Pemaquid. A politic move was it at the outset to make friendship

with this tribe by the conciliatory aid of Skidwares, whose visit, though enforced, to the great civilized world abroad, must have taught him the wisdom of friendly relations with the English. By this bit of diplomacy — not England's last on this side of the ocean — came earliest into extant history the name Pemaquid, first to English ear and first on English tongue by instruction of the captive.

Here most suitably we notice the Popham colony had no relations with Monhegan. Certainly on the next day, their first Sunday on the coast, the company did not gather ashore on that island for their fitting religious worship and the thankful sermon of the Reverend Seymour. Instead they were at the George's Islands.

The glowing opinion which assigned to Monhegan the first Protestant worship of Maine, or New England, had slight basis at the first, but none when the accurate history of the enterprise was discovered. The misapprehension should exist no longer.

A further error connects the Popham colony with Pemaquid permanently. It has been affirmed that upon the abandonment at Sagadahoc after a year, a fragment was transferred to Pemaquid, and there, though feeble, was established to abide. Hence is assigned to Maine continued colonial existence from 1607, and to Pemaquid an early settlement in 1608.

This visionary theory, a hot-house sprout from a half-seed of fact, has thriven strangely; but unsubstantial, it requires only truth to wither it. The utter failure at Sagadahoc, the return of all to

England, stands out in history among the best certified facts of the time. "Abandoned the enterprise and set sail for England;" "would stay no longer in the country;" "resolved to leave the country;" "all returned in 1608;" "all our hopes were frozen to death;" these are some of the explicit denials that a portion was left and took root elsewhere. Other considerations strongly buttress that direct proof, not permitted here, but fully presented in a volume of the Society's collections.[1] The amazing vitality of this flimsy theory and its perennial freshness are conspicuous. It enters histories, shines in newspapers, strengthens weak arguments, satisfies local pride, but has not one cobblestone for foundation and only mischievous results.

A recent instance: The honored Society of Colonial Dames, contending for Maine's rightful place in history as an independent colony, affirm that after the disruption at Sagadahoc "some off-shoots of the colony remained and grew in places between the Penobscot and Kennebec." Hence Maine has continuous colonial existence from 1607. But Maine's colonial claim is too broad and strong to be allowed to suffer by this deceiving backstroke of over-confident error.

In the second decade of the century the one pertinent event is the coming of the redoubtable Capt. John Smith in 1614, who engaged in whaling fruitlessly, but was fortunate and useful in his fishing, fur-trading, exploring, map-making. His ships lay at Monhegan. He writes Pennaquida or Pemaquid

[1] 2 Series, Vol. 6, pp. 62-85.

into the list of places whose names he learned in order along the coast. He tells that right over against his anchorage at Monhegan was a ship of Sir Francis Popham, which had frequented that port some years. He must mean Pemaquid, and the anchorage may be best assigned to New Harbor or possibly to the river on the west side. We know Popham was endeavoring to retrieve some of the losses of the broken enterprise.

The next year Smith gathered a few colonists and sailed to begin a plantation. Tempests and pirates frustrated his forceful design and he saw the New World no more. Warmly devoted, however, to his object, he sought in various ports and cities of England to arouse an interest in colonization, yet confesses it availed no more than "to hew rocks with oyster shells."

As we pass into the third decade there come to view tokens of permanency. The period 1619-1623 for beginnings about Monhegan contains the uncertain oscillating line of various opinions by careful writers. Now fishing was exploited by increasing numbers of ships and men, but first and chiefly at the islands. All details of the time force that opinion — first steps and permanency at the islands. With studious reading of all then written I cannot avoid the conclusion that previous to Captain Smith's operations there had been very little fishing along the Maine coast. His success, his hand-bills and pamphlets scattered in English ports turned adventurers hither, when for a previous century the prolific

waters of Newfoundland had attracted and satisfied the fishermen of Europe.

Another fact — a clearing point of dim history — is a grant of Monhegan in 1622 to Abraham Jennens. This looks like business. Also a first note of success in Sir Ferdinando Gorges' affairs was a plantation at Monhegan, in 1623, certainly not long established, for a "plantation," in the language of the time, meant established business in some definite form to be maintained. A ship's mainsail or a few brush huts sheltering fishermen at their work for a few months of the year did not make a settlement.

Also on the main land in the first half of the third decade formative processes are disclosed. In 1621, John Pierce, of London, obtained a grant of land in New England not then located nor bounded, and given in behalf of his associates, the Plymouth Pilgrims. It availed nothing to them nor to him, being superseded the next year. The transactions were misty and apparently somewhat crooked. More than a century afterwards a claim was made that Pierce's son entered on Pemaquid land under terms of the grant. We know that Christopher Levett, in November, 1623, was told that Pemaquid had been granted. The younger Pierce and Brown may have come over in 1623 or 1624. There is nothing to determine the precise fact nor the time. But in 1625, John Brown made that historic purchase from the noble Samoset — an extensive tract miles in extent and comprising a large part of the peninsula. By the marriage of his

daughter with the younger Pearce (Pierce) the families were united and possessed the property.[1]

The period — 1622-1625 — therefore holds the most definite date which history gives for beginnings at Pemaquid.

Let us retrace the path of the years seeking whatever lies therein concerning the question of early settlements.

For the last decades of the sixteenth century there is absolutely nothing; one may fancy as one will, affirm probabilities, but in history there is nothing, not an assured footstep on the Maine coast. The general inferences of early historians are not sustained by the exacting research of recent years. That none or so few fishermen or traders are shown up north of Cape Cod in the first decade of the new century casts light back into the previous century, declaring no more then. Captain Waymouth, in 1605, found no traces of occupation, nor did Champlain in the same year, ranging the coast as far as Cape Cod. These narrators did not report one ship, one indication of fishery, one movement of human activity on the great sea, nor in harbors nor on land. The same is the report by the Popham colony for 1607; their boats sailed east and west to the Penobscot and the Spurwink, and found the lands, except in native inhabitants, solitary and unscarred, apparently untouched by foot of European. In September

[1] Samuel Maverick, who had knowledge of settlements from his arrival in 1624, wrote that Aldworth, of Bristol, settled a company of people in Pemaquid River, in 1625, which plantation continued. Even Maverick may not be accurate, for in the grant to Aldworth and Eldridge are statements seeming to indicate the entry of their colonists a few years later.

they went to Pemaquid River and failed to find Nahanada's men according to promise; their record is positive — "We found no living creature there." Hence the apparent absence of ships and men in 1604, 1605, and 1607, strongly supports the opinion that as yet no fishing nor trade or but very little had any place on the Maine coast.

In 1611, the Frenchman, Biencourt, accompanied by the Jesuit, Biard, came from Port Royal, coasted to the Kennebec, entered that river and the Sheepscot, also the Penobscot, and evidently points between. He came in search of Englishmen to make protest about some former invasion of French rights eastward. Biard writes of the abandoned Popham fort and notes no trace of English agency elsewhere except some disused fishing boats at Matinicus.

In 1613, Captain Argall broke up the French Jesuit colony just begun at Mt. Desert, but all accounts of his proceedings have not a hint that Englishmen had settled in Maine. Conditions in 1614 are shown by Captain Smith as he narrates what he saw and what he did, which accord with the preceding. He alludes to a description of the Popham colony and definitely declares that at the time of his visit "there was not one Christian in all the land." He means that not a colony nor a fragment of one, not a rude dwelling with European occupants, did he find as he surveyed harbors and rivers and visited forty Indian encampments between Penobscot and Cape Cod. In planning his plantation of 1615, he made an alliance with Nahanada against the

chief's enemies. Were incipient colonies then established at the chief's very home or in the vicinity, and yet he seeks Smith's aid for his defence?

Gorges, the master-spirit of colonization, wasting his fortune in attempts, confesses failure. Evidently to remove reproach from the country by the freezing terror of the first known winter, he hired men to make trial of one season, and so Richard Vines and company spent a winter, about 1617, at Saco. Such evidence was needless if beyond Kennebec and at Pemaquid, men had been established a decade.

In 1618, Captain Rocroft, in Gorges' employ, came to the Maine coast and instead of hanging some mutineers put them ashore at Saco. They made their way to Monhegan and there miserably lived through a winter. For myself I can make no other interpretation of the incident than this: no protecting settlement, no supply station on shore, Monhegan known as a summer fishing port and calling port for vessels and affording these men most hopeful chance to be taken off as they were in the spring. Why did not alleged Pemaquid settlers show kindness to these wretched men? Did the feeblest colony exist?

The next spring Captain Dermer came to co-operate with Rocroft, whom he failed to find. His narrative supports the preceding opinions. There is strong evidence that he carried Samoset from Monhegan to Cape Cod eight months before the Mayflower arrived. This trusted chief in broken English learned at fishing ships about Monhegan, not from resident planters, gave much valuable information regarding the

country. Surely the Pilgrims never heard from him of settlements begun at Pemaquid or adjacent places.

The view of early flourishing settlements has been supported by a claim that Pemaquid from her rich harvesting fed the famishing Pilgrims in 1622.

The original allegation has been toned down somewhat, but still occurs in sketchy newspaper writings and elsewhere, and claims the Pilgrim Fathers were saved from starving and their colony from extinction by food furnished from Pemaquid. It is deplorable that any try to write history till they have read or studied it. The original entry is clear as sunlight; Mr. Winslow did obtain bread from fishing ships at Damariscove and Monhegan, whose masters gave willingly, from their surplus stock, the good product of English ovens. But behind that fact to present or permit directly or by implication a perspective of granaries and productive agriculture at that date has been mischievous error.

Unmistakable is this trend of evidence drawn from reports of men who came on the scene, and the sad confessions of Gorges who never lost heart in the failures.

There were no settlements on the New England coast up to 1620. There could not have been consistently with these records made by many explorers. Gorges' writings detailing operations and difficulties furnish a background of light illuminating the various incidents now adduced. If he knows nothing of settlements to give him cheer in his hard path, on what basis of record or fair inference do persons now

assert continuous settlements from 1607, even from 1580 or 1590? Only when he writes for himself and company in 1622, does he write of beginnings, "a peaceable plantation where our people flourish."

I make this summary of what existing history teaches concerning early Pemaquid:

1. A locality, not designated, where Indians were kidnapped in 1605.

2. A locality, with its river, found with a name when visited by Englishmen for a few hours several times in 1607.

3. A locality, where an English ship was moored in a harbor for purposes of trade and fishing in 1614, and associated years.

4. A larger locality, including the former, where occurred an alleged entry, perhaps in 1623, on land under a charter of the council of Plymouth; where a large purchase was made from native chiefs in 1625; and another English grant made in 1632. Between 1622 and 1625 may most properly be drawn the uncertain line which most fairly represents the first real entry of such as came to stay.

5. A fort built for defense, about 1630, of size or construction unknown, probably of timber strengthened by earth, or stone, and palisaded; its site unknown, assigned to the point at the mouth of the river on its west side or associated with the present fort site, because afterward and now regarded most eligible. But men 300 years ago may have regarded the topography and wilderness surroundings very differently.

6. Of the fort site west of the river, extant history tells nothing so far as I can learn. That it is very ancient and antedating 1600, no evidence appears nor probability. I will venture to regard it as a remnant of a second defensive work subsequent to 1632. Evidence that it was Spanish and not English does not appear. The allegation largely depends upon some shell-rock or coquina found in the ruin. If a few pieces of coquina show a Spanish fort, what of Sheepscot where there are tons, where the outdoor cellar stairs of an early dwelling are constructed of coquina in blocks three feet long squared one foot as finely hewed timber, while other larger pieces were built into the walls? A pile in the adjacent flats sufficiently suggest the source; ballast of vessels dumped overboard.

7. Events and conditions after 1630 were similar to those in most other towns on the coast of Maine, forty years of peaceful advance, then horrid war recurring for fourscore years.

BRIEF OUTLINES OF GOVERNMENT.

1. Previous to 1665 the authority of the patentees exercised by magistrates for the common good.

2. In 1665, a beginning of government in behalf of James, Duke of York, set up at Sheepscot, which was soon dissipated. For about eight years no government.

3. In 1673-4, court established by Massachusetts as she extended her authority eastward. Pemaquid, the shire of the new county of Devon.

4. In 1675-6, disruption of all civil and social affairs by King Philip's War. Destruction of their protecting fort which had served nearly half a century.

5. In 1677, ducal authority resumed with a strong, harsh hand by Governor Andros and successor Dongan; continued under James, when king. Its extreme limits were 1665 to 1689, or twenty-four years, but it had efficiency only the last twelve.

6. A new fort, Charles, built by order of Andros, in 1677. Instructions were to choose the place most convenient for shipping, defense, fresh water. That the site of the ruined fort was selected, or another better suited to the requirements after the changes of fifty years, none can tell.

7. Andros' government fell in 1689 by the revolution which expelled James from his kingdom. Fort Charles destroyed.

8. The new government in which Massachusetts was the chief force began in 1692, under Sir William Phips, provincial governor.

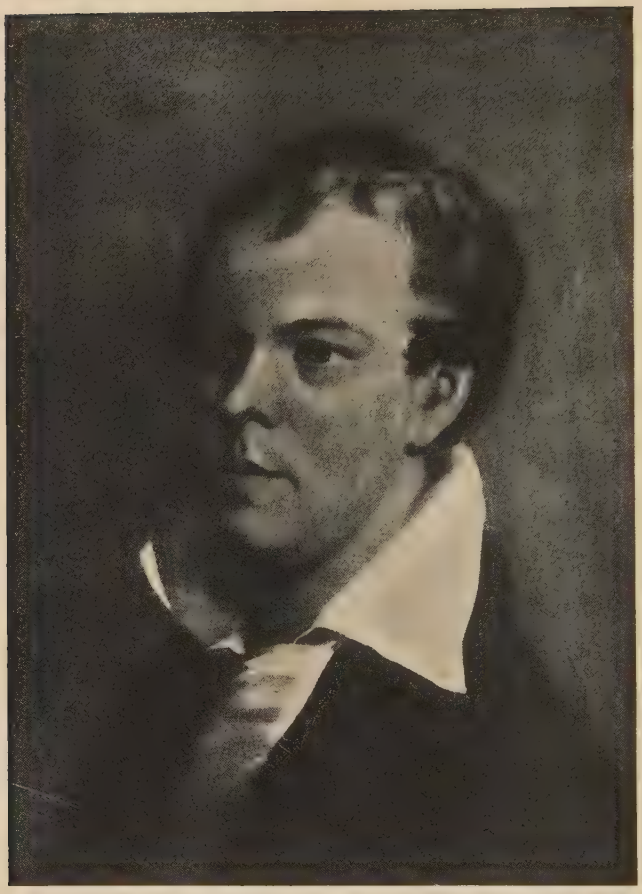
9. In 1692, a strong and costly fortification built by Phips and named William Henry. In 1693, a treaty of peace with the awed natives signed at Pemaquid, but in effect scarcely more than a truce.

10. In 1696, Fort William Henry captured by French and Indians and wholly destroyed.

11. In 1729-30, another fort built up above the ruined walls of the former, called Fort Frederic. Maintained for the defense of the settlements during the Indian wars succeeding and supported by the main frontier post at St. George's River.

12. Fort Frederic leveled by the Sons of the Revolution to prevent occupation by the British.

Soon after the Indian wars, Pemaquid, the real Pemaquid of the peninsula, and the exciting changes of a century and a half, passed into the new town of Bristol, yet lost not its local name and never has parted with its peculiar individuality impressed on it by civil changes and the fortunes and losses of war.



SEARGENT SMITH PRENTISS

SEARGENT SMITH PRENTISS

BY WILLIAM H. LOONEY, ESQ.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 22, 1903

In August, 1902, a plebescite was taken in Mississippi to determine the ten most distinguished sons of that State, then dead, whose portraits should honor the Hall of Fame in the stately new capitol at Jackson. Ballots were cast for eighty-three persons. The names and votes of the five receiving the highest number were: Jefferson Davis, 14,452; L. Q. C. Lamar, 14,311; E. C. Walthall, 14,072; J. C. George, 14,012; and Seargent S. Prentiss, 13,008.

The vote for Seargent S. Prentiss was most significant, the highest possible tribute to his memory. While those whose names preceded his in the list were natives of the South, identified with the lost cause,— typical Southern statesmen — he was born, nurtured and educated in the North. A Southern man by adoption, he had always been true to Northern principles and Northern ideals, proud of the Puritan ancestry from which he sprang.

Then, too, they had recently passed away — were intimately known by the present generation, while he had closed his mortal eyes over a half a century ago. The selection of his portrait to adorn the Hall of Fame was then a tribute of the educated intellect of Mississippi, to his character, genius and public

services, an assurance that his fame will stand the test of time and history. That his native city and State should also honor his memory as one of the greatest men, most eloquent orators, and purest characters this State or country has ever given to history, is one of the purposes of this sketch.

Seargent S. Prentiss was born in Portland, September 13, 1808. The house in which he first saw the light stood near the easterly corner of Congress and and Temple Streets, where now is Congress Hall. He sprang from the best New England stock. His father was a sea captain. While still young the family moved to Gorham, and resided on a farm on the old Standish road. He was educated in the district schools, in Gorham Academy, and Bowdoin College, from which he graduated at the early age of eighteen — before the average college student even enters. That the district school which he attended made upon his sensitive mind an indelible impression, that its subtle influences contributed to form in no small degree his character, that he firmly believed in the public school system of New England, we may conclude from the following beautiful passage in the address given by him in New Orleans, at the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims :

" Behold yon simple building at the crossing of the village road. It is small and rude but stands in a pleasant and quiet spot. A magnificent old elm spreads its broad arms above and seems to lean towards it, even as a strong man bends over to protect and shelter a child."

Old inhabitants of Gorham tell me this is a perfect description of the district schoolhouse which Prentiss attended. The old elm is still standing.

"It is," said he, "the public school, the free common school, provided by law, open to all, claimed from the community as a right, not accepted as a bounty. Here the children of the rich and poor, high and low, meet upon terms of perfect equality and commence under the same auspices the race of life. Here the sustenance of the mind is served up to all alike, as the Spartans served their food upon the public tables. . . . . The common school is New England's fairest boast, the brightest jewel that adorns her brow. The principle that society is bound to provide for its members' education, as well as protection, so that none need be ignorant except from choice, is the most important that belongs to modern philosophy. It is essential to a republican government. Universal education is not only the surest and best, it is the only sure foundation for free institutions. True liberty is the child of knowledge. She pines away and dies in the arms of ignorance."

Throughout his life he cherished an undying attachment for his native city, and the beautiful village where his boyhood was passed. Casco Bay, he called in poetic phrase, the "fairest dimple on ocean's cheek," and Portland "the brightest jewel in the diadem that adorns ocean's brow." Here he doubtless stored his memory with those images of the ocean and mountains which he afterwards wrought into forms of such wonderful beauty and grandeur.

The landscape bounded far away by the White Mountains, hill and vale at morning and twilight surely touched and colored his imagination, when in the same address he said :

"Glorious New England! Thou art still true to thy ancient fame and worthy of thy ancestral honor. On thy pleasant valleys rest like sweet dews of the morning the recollections of our early life; around thy hills and mountains cling, like gathering mists, the mighty memories of the Revolution ; and far away in the horizon of the past gleam like thine own Northern Lights, the awful virtues of our Pilgrim sires."

Rarely, except in the case of such transcendent geniuses as Napoleon and Hamilton, has a man been so gifted mentally as Prentiss. As Fisk says of Hamilton, "His intellect seemed to have sprung forth in full maturity like Pallas from the brain of Zeus."

At fifteen he entered the junior class at Bowdoin, passing an examination embracing all of the studies of the freshman and sophomore years with such remarkable readiness, clearness, precision and fullness as to call forth the warmest commendation of the college faculty.

He read with marvellous rapidity and whatever he read was ineffaceably impressed upon his memory. While a student in the academy and college he mastered the English classics, familiarizing himself with Scott, Irving, Cooper, Milton and Byron. Shakespeare and the Bible he knew from lid to lid. His

knowledge of the sacred book was so accurate that at the age of ten he could instantly tell the book and chapter of any text.

Because of his rich imagination which moulded his thoughts into visions of beauty, his retentive memory, and extraordinary mental equipment, native and acquired, Prentiss was misunderstood; he was regarded as a phenomenon whose knowledge was acquired not by study, but by intuition. He was, on the contrary, an indefatigable student, a prodigy of acquisition and industry, profoundly versed in the best literature, ancient and modern.

Prentiss was of medium height; his right leg was lame, the result of a fever in infancy. He always walked with the assistance of a cane. In appearance he was eminently handsome and manly. When animated by conversation every feature of his countenance glowed with intellectual beauty. His smile was peculiarly radiant, while the shape of his mouth and the whole carriage of his head gave assurance of an indomitable will. Thorpe said, "There was that in the carriage of his head that was astonishingly impressive; it gave a wonderful idea of power." "He had," says the same writer, "originally a constitution of iron, his frame was so perfect in its organization that, in spite of the most unusual negligence of health, his muscles had all the compactness, glossiness and distinctiveness of one who had been specially trained by diet and exercise." "He had," said Watterson, "a magnificent bust and a royal head, the space above the eyes being a three-decker. His

eagle eye burned like the orb of day and flashed like lightning when he was aroused."

"I shall never forget him," said Thorpe, "when on one occasion at a political discussion, Prentiss arose to reply to an antagonist worthy of his steel. His whole soul was aroused, his high, smooth forehead fairly coruscated. He remained silent for some seconds, and only *looked*. The bald eagle never glanced more fiercely from his eyrie; it seemed as if his deep, dark gray eye would distend until it swallowed up the thousands of his audience. For an instant the effect was painful; he saw it and smiled, when a cheer burst from the admiring multitude that fairly shook the earth."

After graduating from Bowdoin, he studied law for some months in Gorham, in the office of Judge Pierce (father of Lewis Pierce, Esq., of this city). He then went to Natchez, Miss., where he taught school, devoting all of his spare time to the study of law. He was admitted to the Mississippi Bar in 1829, and practiced his profession in Natchez and Vicksburg.

In 1835, he was elected to the Legislature of Mississippi, and to Congress in 1837. He refused to be a candidate for re-election, but at the earnest solicitation of the Whigs of his adopted State, consented to become a candidate for the National Senate. Although he was the choice of the people of the State by a large majority, he was defeated in the Legislature by only a few votes. The popular will was thus thwarted by a disgraceful gerrymander of the legislative districts. The repudiation of its

honest obligations by the State of Mississippi so humiliated and incensed him that he moved in 1845, to New Orleans, where he continued to practice law — the admitted leader of the Louisiana Bar — until his lamented death July 1, 1850.

Prentiss was the idol of the South. No man was more popular or more admired and loved than he. This was due, not only to his beautiful character, his transcendent genius, his extraordinary assemblage of mental and moral gifts, but also to his courage — a courage which never quailed before mortal man.

Finding the duello a recognized institution in the South, he accepted it. He did so, not that he believed in the theory and practice of duelling, for he was opposed to both from principle, but because he was convinced that self-respect as well as his usefulness as a public man imperatively demanded it. The soul of honor, his conduct was always characterized by innate courtesy and a scrupulous regard for the feelings of others ; he was never the aggressor in a quarrel. He fought two duels with General Foote, afterwards governor of the State and United States senator. At the first meeting, Foote fired so quickly that Prentiss, who had determined to throw away his fire and offer his person as a target to his antagonist, had not time to raise his weapon above the danger line, and his bullet struck Foote in the shoulder.

The accurate aim of Prentiss was attributed by Foote and his friends to the fact that he fought with a "rest," alluding to the lameness which obliged him to carry a cane. Prentiss was mortally sensitive in

regard to his infirmity, and any allusion to it stung him to the quick. He challenged Foote. In the second encounter, Prentiss, as in the first, escaped unscathed, while Foote received a bullet in the hip.

Although many messages passed between Prentiss and others, this was the only duel he ever fought. He was feared as well as loved. The knowledge that he was an unerring marksman — he could sever a tape-line with a bullet at twelve paces every time — doubtless contributed to the respect in which he was held and the reluctance men had to provoke a quarrel with him. Even brave men are not anxious to fight with one an encounter with whom probably means certain death.

In politics Prentiss was a Whig, profoundly versed in and sincerely attached to the principles of the Whig party. No American statesman, not even Hamilton or Webster, has discussed the great principles of the Whig party,— protective tariff, sound currency, internal improvements, national supremacy,— with greater lucidity, power, ability and learning than he. That he had attentively studied the ablest works upon the science of government and political economy, the fragments of his masterly speeches in Congress and on the political platform bear conclusive testimony.

His speech upon the tariff is the ablest, clearest and most convincing discussion of the American protective system which I have read. In my judgment it is not surpassed by the report of Hamilton on Manufactures, nor by Webster, Clay and Blaine in their masterly presentations of the subject.

The speech of Prentiss in Congress, Dec. 27th, 1838, on Defalcations, is the most eloquent as well as the severest arraignment of the spoils system which has come to my notice. Never have the principles of civil service reform; never have the evils of official patronage in public life been more vividly or more powerfully portrayed.

The address which is published in his memoirs, and which is only a shadow of the original speech delivered by him in the National House of Representatives upon the contest for his seat in that body, is a most masterly discussion of Constitutional law as far as it refers to elections of members of Congress. It is the discussion not only of a matchless orator, but that of a profound lawyer, and statesman as well.

But Prentiss was not a blind political partizan. He was first a patriot. To him parties were means, not ends. "A slave to principle, he called no party master." The arts of the professional politician — subterfuge, indirection, double dealing — were utterly foreign to his frank, open, manly and honest nature. It was but natural then that between him and the political manager there should be little or no affinity. The man who was continually suing for public favors he considered the meanest and most mischievous of all the members of society.

"The ancient gladiator," said he, in his letter refusing to be a candidate for Congress the second time, "pursued a more enviable course than the modern politician." "Both inclination and private interests," said he, "admonish me of the rashness of again

plunging among the wild breakers of public opinion where the bark that moves straight forward is almost sure to be swamped, while the tacking, veering craft, by adapting itself to each sudden change of wind and waves, gains the port in safety."

His retirement from public life caused profound regret not only in Mississippi and the South, but throughout the Union. Political friends and associates, statesmen and leaders of public opinion all over the country urged him to reconsider his determination, but in vain. His decision was irrevocable.

As a public man, Prentiss was the embodiment of honesty and fairness. He never equivocated, never concealed one truth to help another. "However some of you may differ with me on certain questions," he said, in his canvass for Congress, "I trust, fellow citizens, you will give me credit for candor in my political course. I am anxious that none should be in error regarding my views. I wish to leave no room for misapprehension, and to such an extent do I carry this desire that I would not receive a single vote which I believed to be given from a mistaken apprehension of my principles."

Prentiss was comparatively unknown beyond the borders of Mississippi until his speech upon what is termed the Mississippi contested election case gave him national prominence as an orator and a statesman. In brief, the facts of this celebrated case were these:

President Van Buren called a special session of Congress to meet in October, 1837. An election was

called by the governor of Mississippi to choose representatives to this session until superseded by the members chosen at the next regular election on the first Monday in November. At the election in July for the special session in October, two Democrats were selected. In November, however, Prentiss and Thomas J. Ward were elected by majorities from two to three thousand. The question was, who were elected from Mississippi to the Twenty-fifth Congress, the Democrats chosen in July, or the Whigs chosen in November? No case of contested election ever before created such universal interest. The excitement in Congress and the country was intense, owing to the nicely balanced state of the parties in the House of Representatives.

The opening speech of Prentiss occupied three hours every day for three days. From the skeleton of this speech, which has been published, one can form a fair idea of the speech as it was delivered. "Its logic was as accurate and subtle as that of a schoolman, while the fairest gems of literary culture adorned its rhetoric — it was the speech of a statesman and jurist discussing with patriotic zeal a great question of parliamentary law." During its delivery the galleries were crowded to suffocation; the lobbies and every vacant spot on the floor of the hall were thronged by senators, jurists, and foreign ministers. This distinguished audience was captivated and enthralled by his wonderful eloquence. A breathless silence reigned from the beginning to the end of the speech. The peroration thrilled the immense

assemblage like an electric touch. "You sit here," said he, "twenty-five sovereign States in judgment upon the most sacred rights of a sister State; that which is to a State what chastity is to a woman, or honor to a man. Should you decide against her, you tear from her brow the richest jewel which sparkles there and forever bow her head in shame and dishonor. But if your determination is taken; if the blow must fall; if the violated Constitution must bleed; I have but one request, on her behalf to make. When you decide that she cannot choose her own representation, at that self same moment blot from the spangled banner of this Union the bright star that glitters in the name of Mississippi, but leave the stripe behind, a fit emblem of her degredation."

Mr. Webster, who with John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and George Evans, listened to the speech, remarked as he left the hall, "Nobody could equal it." Ex-President Fillmore said, "I can never forget that speech. It was certainly the most brilliant that I ever heard, and as a whole, I think it fully equalled, if it did not exceed any rhetorical effort to which it had been my good fortune to listen in either House of Congress."

The House by a majority of seven declared that the two Democrat members were not entitled to their seats. Upon the question of seating Prentiss and Ward the vote was a tie and was decided against them by the casting vote of the Democratic speaker, Mr. Polk, afterwards President. A second election was ordered at which Prentiss and his Whig colleague

were triumphantly elected. During the session Prentiss delivered a number of speeches, all brilliant, logical and masterly, stamped with the impression of the highest genius and oratorical power. No member was listened to with greater pleasure or commanded a larger audience than he. The House was filled with the elite and intellect of Washington whenever he spoke. The Senate was without a quorum.

No sketch of the career of Prentiss, however brief, can be complete without a statement of his course in relation to repudiation. Upon his opposition to this infamous doctrine his fame can safely rest. In 1837 the Mississippi Union Bank was organized with a capital stock of $15,000,000. The State pledged itself to pay the principal and interest of the bonds issued to raise this sum. Of this issue bonds to the amount of $5,000,000 were sold. In 1843 a governor and legislature were elected by an overwhelming majority for the express purpose of repudiating these bonds to the payment of which the State had solemnly pledged its faith and honor. The speeches of Prentiss in opposition to this dishonest scheme to repudiate its public obligations were among the greatest he ever made. Whenever he spoke on the subject he resembled more an old Hebrew prophet than a modern politician. With unsparing severity and as if specially commissioned by heaven, he warned the people against the demagogues who were trying to lead them astray, set before them the sin of violating the public faith and plainly foretold the disastrous consequences

which would spring out of their endorsing such a policy.

From the moment that Mississippi committed itself to repudiation and dishonor, Prentiss determined to leave its accursed territory. In a letter to his brother announcing his intention of settling in New Orleans, he said he considered Mississippi as disgraced and degraded, and that he had sworn that he would not bring up his children within reach of its infamous doctrines.

Prentiss was a Southern man with Northern principles. He was firmly wedded to the Union. With prophetic eye he saw the signs of the storm which was soon to burst with such terrible fury and drench our land in blood. No Southern statesman did more to avert the awful disaster than he. What Fisk said of the orations of Webster can be justly applied to many of the public addresses of Prentiss at this time. "The spirit which animates these orations is that of the broadest patriotism, enlightened by a clear perception of the fundamental importance of the Federal Union between the States, and an ever present consciousness of the mighty future of our country and its moral significance in the history of the world."

"It is said against me," said he, "that I have Northern feelings. Well, so I have, and Southern and Eastern and Western, and trust that I shall ever as a citizen of the Republic have liberality enough to embrace within the scope of my feelings both its cardinal points and its cardinal interests. I do most fervently pray that my eyes may not witness a

division of this Republic! Though it may be a day of rejoicing for the demagogue, it will prove a bitter hour for the good man and the patriot. Sir, there are some things belonging to the Union which you cannot divide; you cannot divide its glorious history, the recollections of Lexington and Bunker Hill; you cannot divide the bones of your Revolutionary sires; they would not lie still away from the ancient battle-grounds, where they have so long slumbered. And the portrait of the Father of His Country, which hangs in the Capitol, how much of it will fall to your share when both that country and picture shall be dismembered."

In his New England address at New Orleans, on the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, in 1846, he said: "To us the Union has but one domestic hearth; its household gods are all the same. We cannot do with less than the whole Union; to us it admits of no division. In the veins of our children flows Northern and Southern blood; how shall it be separated; who shall put asunder the best affections of the heart, the noblest instincts of our nature? We love the land of our adoption, so do we that of our birth. Let us ever be true to both, and always exert ourselves in maintaining the unity of our country, the integrity of the Republic. Accursed, then, be the hand stretched forth to loosen the golden cords of Union; thrice accursed the traitorous lips, whether of Northern fanatic or Southern demagogue, who shall propose its severance. But, no, the Union cannot be dissolved; its fortunes are too

brilliant to be marred; its destinies too powerful to be resisted."

That Prentiss was devotedly attached to the Union, that his allegiance to his State was subordinate to his allegiance to the Nation, that he believed in the principles expounded by Webster and that he was opposed to the principles advocated by Calhoun, the above extracts from his speeches as well as his course as a public man furnish indubitable proof.

And yet such is the force of association, so powerfully are men influenced by environment, in an address at New Orleans on Forefathers' Day, 1849, he said, "that if such a calamity as secession came he could only cast his lot with the land of his wife and children."

In the light of this significant utterance, can we wonder that so many Union men were swept from their moorings by the deluge of 1861? Can we not understand why so many patriotic Southern men felt it their duty to go with their states in 1861-65?

Should we not then be magnanimous in our sentiments touching the course of those who differed with us in the war for the preservation of the Union?

Prentiss was a profound and able lawyer, the acknowledged head of his profession in Mississippi and Louisiana. The judicial annals of both, one a common, the other a civil law State, are illustrated by his arguments. He was engaged in some of the most important civil cases ever tried in the South and Southwest. His conduct of a case was always masterly. In the discussions of constitutional questions,

in the analysis of points of law he has never been surpassed, rarely equalled. "Then his style became terse, simple, severe, exhibiting a mental discipline and a faculty of concentration in striking contrast with the natural exuberance of his fancy." In their matchless symmetry of statement and transparent clearness his legal arguments closely resemble those of Hamilton, Madison and Webster. Like those great lawyers he possessed in the highest degree the art of so presenting a case that the mere statement seems equivalent to a demonstration. As an advocate, he excelled; before a jury, he was irresistible. In the trial of criminal cases no lawyer was more successful. Of six murder cases in which he was engaged in one term, he secured acquittal in five.

Of his arguments in criminal cases only that in the celebrated Wilkinson trial has been preserved, although this has been pronounced inferior to many of his other efforts. It ranks with the masterpieces of forensic oratory,—learned, eloquent, logical, pathetic and convincing.

Eminent as a statesman and patriot, profound and able as a lawyer, Prentiss was supreme as an orator.

As an orator he will chiefly be remembered. His voice improved, like that of Demosthenes, by a slight lisp, was of almost unexampled sweetness, perfection and power. It covered the gamut. As Lecky said of O'Connell's voice: "Rising with an easy and melodious swell, it filled the largest building and triumphed over the wildest tumult, while at the same time it conveyed every inflection of feeling with the

most delicate flexibility. It was equally suited for impassioned appeal, for graphic narration and for sweeping the finer chords of pathos and sensibility."

During the stirring political campaigns of 1838, 1840 and 1844, he addressed in the North and South, some of the largest audiences ever assembled in this country. Over his audiences he exercised unbounded influence. Thousands hung entranced upon his accents. There was no chord of feeling that he could not strike with power. With the possible exception of Patrick Henry, America has produced no more natural orator than he.

Many stories are told of his ready wit, his quickness at repartee, and his fertility of resource while addressing large audiences. The late Senator Bruce, who represented Mississippi in the House of States for one term since the Civil War, told me that there is not a county in Mississippi in which there does not linger some traditional recollections of his wonderful powers as an orator. During his second canvass after his rejection by the casting vote of the speaker, Mississippi rose as one man to meet him. He was then in the zenith of his mental and physical powers. The proprietor of a travelling menagerie shrewdly taking advantage of the immense audiences addressed by Prentiss, followed him from place to place. One of the menagerie scenes is thus described by Thorpe: "The 'boys' decided that Prentiss should 'next time' speak from the top of the lion's cage. Never was the menagerie more crowded. At the proper time, the candidate gratified his constituents and

mounted his singular rostrum. I was told by a person, who professed to be an eye-witness, that the whole affair presented a singular mixture of the terrible and the comical. Prentiss was, as usual, eloquent, and, as if ignorant of the novel circumstances with which he was surrounded, went deeply into the matter in hand, his election. For awhile the audience and the animals were quiet — the former listening, the latter eyeing the speaker with grave intensity. The first burst of applause electrified the menagerie; the elephant threw his trunk into the air and echoed back the noise, while the tigers and bears significantly growled. On went Prentiss and as each peculiar animal vented his rage or approbation, he most ingeniously wrought in his habits, as a fac-simile of some man or passion. In the meanwhile, the stately king of beasts, who had been quietly treading the mazes of his prison, became alarmed at the footsteps over his head, and placing his mouth upon the floor of his cage, made everything shake by his terrible roar. This, joined with the already excited feelings of the audience, caused the ladies to shriek, and a fearful commotion followed for a moment. Prentiss, equal to every occasion, changed his tone and his manner; he commenced a playful strain, and introduced the fox, the jackal and the hyena, and capped the climax by likening some well-known political opponent to a grave baboon that presided over the 'cage with monkeys.' The resemblance was instantly recognized, and bursts of laughter followed that literally set many into convulsions.

The baboon, all unconscious of the attention he was attracting, suddenly assumed a grimace, and then a serious face, when Prentiss exclaimed: 'I see, my fine fellow, that your feelings are hurt by my unjust comparison, and I humbly beg your pardon.' The effect of all this may be vaguely imagined, but it cannot be described."

His style was ornate, graphic and beautiful. Familiarity with the Bible, Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon and the other great models of English speech gave richness, strength and felicity to his diction.

While many of his speeches, notably that in behalf of the famine-stricken people of Ireland, are models of literary excellence, and consummate works of art, he never with but two exceptions made a verbal preparation. His wonderful eloquence was always the inspiration of the moment. He has been termed the greatest extemporaneous speaker that ever lived. It is said that he never hesitated for a word in his life. So perfect was the command of his mental forces that no matter how high he attempted to soar he always reached the point and descended at pleasure. Unlike many orators who are gifted by a brilliant imagination and whose diction is enriched by an assiduous cultivation of the best masters of style, his speeches were never overcharged with ornament. All exhibit a fine discriminating literary taste.

I know of no more beautiful or eloquent passage than the following from his speech in behalf of the Irish peasant just referred to: "There lies," said he,

"on the other side of the wide Atlantic a beautiful island famous in story and in song. Its area is not so great as that of the State of Louisiana, while its population is almost half that of the Union. It has given to the world more than its share of genius and of greatness. It has been prolific in statesmen, warriors, and poets. Its brave and generous sons have fought successfully all battles but their own. In wit and humor it has no equal; while its harp, like its history, moves to tears by its sweet but melancholy pathos. Into this fair region God has seen fit to send the most terrible of all those fearful ministers who fulfill His inscrutable decrees. The earth ha sfailed to yield her increase; the common mother has forgotten her offspring, and her breast no longer affords them their accustomed nourishment. Famine, gaunt and ghastly famine, has seized a nation with strangling grasp; and unhappy Ireland, in the sad woes of the present, forgets for a moment the gloomy history of the past."

Where is the law of self-defense more clearly or graphically illustrated than in the following extract from his plea in the Wilkinson murder trial: "The principals of self-defense, which pervade all animated nature, and act towards life the same part that is performed by the external mechanism of the eye towards the delicate sense of vision — affording it on the approach of danger, at the same time, warning and protection — do not require that action shall be withheld till it can be of no avail. When the rattlesnake gives warning of his fatal purpose, the wary traveller

waits not for the poisonous blow, but plants upon his head his armed heel, and crushes out, at once, 'his venom and his strength.' When the hunter hears the rustling in the jungle, and beholds the large green eyes of the spotted tiger glaring upon him, he waits not for the deadly spring, but sends at once through the brain of his crouching enemy the swift and leaden death.

"If war was declared against your country by an insulting foe, would you wait till your sleeping cities were awakened by the terrible music of the bursting bomb? till your green fields were trampled by the hoofs of the invader, and made red with the blood of your brethren? No! you would send forth fleets and armies, you would unloose upon the broad ocean your keen falcons — and the thunder of your guns would arouse stern echoes along the hostile coast. Yet this would be but national defense, and authorized by the same great principle of self-protection which applies no less to individuals than to nations."

The orations of the best orators — Demosthenes, Cicero, Erskine, Burke, Grattan, Webster, Everett, were evidently prepared with painstaking industry and committed to memory. Many of them are essays, not speeches. Not infrequently the oration prepared and elaborated with so much care which we read, is more perfect if not entirely different than the speech as it was delivered.

The speeches of Prentiss, on the contrary, which have been preserved are only skeletons, mere shadows of the originals. No speech of his was ever correctly

reported because the reporters were so mesmerized by his eloquence that they found it impossible to do so. Again, he never wrote as well as he spoke. When the rapture and excitement of the meeting had passed away, he could not reproduce the most beautiful thought and figures of speech which the audience had inspired.

"How is it possible," said Judge Winchester to him one day, "for you to treasure up and make use, at the proper time, of so many beautiful figures of speech and flights of fancy? You certainly must have the most wonderful memory?"

"I'll tell you how it is, Winchester," replied Prentiss. "When I get to speaking and become excited, I'm like a little boy walking through a meadow, when he sees a beautiful butterfly, with its gauzy wings of gold, and starts in pursuit, eager to capture the glittering prize. In the race up springs another, and still another, until the whole sky is filled with beautiful butterflies, every new one brighter than the other. It's so with me; every fancy starts a new one, till in the pursuit my whole mind is filled with beautiful butterflies."

But Prentiss was not a mere declaimer. His speeches, always carefully premeditated, were the living product of his reason and imagination. The garlands of rhetoric were woven around the columns of thought. Of many orators, even the most eloquent, it is said that at times they are dull and uninteresting — the sun is not always in its zenith. Not so with Prentiss, he never wearied his hearers — no

matter how long he spoke, strange as it may seem, when he attempted to close the cry was "go on, go on." Nor did he ever even by innuendo soil his addresses by a coarse, vulgar or indelicate expression. His speeches were modelled from the very highest standards, the living product of a pure, noble, highly cultivated mind and imagination. Again, he never repeated himself. Each address, even upon the same subject, was different from the other. During a political campaign he would deliver an address of two hours in the afternoon in which the principles which he sought to enforce were stated with the greatest clearness, cogency and power — where illustrations were drawn from history, ancient and modern, sacred and profane; quotations borrowed from Byron, Milton, Shakespeare, Scott, and the classics. That same evening, or the next day, he would electrify an audience with another powerful and beautiful address sown with epigrams and antiheses tasselated with quotations and illustrations entirely different from those of the previous speech.

With him one idea gave birth to a thousand — from the inexhaustible storehouse of his mind thoughts, metaphors, quotations, bubbled up in endless beauty and variety.

To those who have not made the oratory of Prentiss a special study, my estimate may seem too partial. But listen to the opinions of competent judges. Of his speech in Faneuil Hall, Edward Everett said that it was the most wonderful specimen of sententious fluency he had ever witnessed.

Said Henry Clay: "The great theatres of eloquence and public speaking in the United States are the legislative hall, the forum and the stump, without adverting to the pulpit. I have known some of my contemporaries eminently successful in one of these theatres, without being able to exhibit any remarkable ability in the other. S. S. Prentiss was brilliant and successful in all."

Ben: Perley Poore, in his reminiscences, writes that Prentiss was the most eloquent man he ever heard in Congress. The force of this estimate can be better appreciated when we remember that he had listened to all of the great parliamentary orators of America — Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Hayes, Benton, Winter, Davis, Conkling and Blaine.

In his eulogy on O'Connell, Wendell Phillips mentions only four American orators,— Webster, Clay, Calhoun and Prentiss — who "wielded a wand few tongues possessed," as worthy of comparison with the great Irish chief.

What was the secret of Prentiss' eloquence? Why is he regarded as one of the most eloquent men this or any country has ever produced? What was the true reason of that transcendant power by which he held captive and enthralled multitudes of people?

It is true he was endowed with a powerful intellect, brilliant imagination, quick inventive faculty, and a sensitive temperament crowned by true genius. His command of language, the result of careful, intelligent study of the great masters of speech, ancient and modern, was the wonder and admiration of all who

heard him. Then, too, his remarkable fluency of speech was doubtless due in no small degree to his training in the college debating society, at the bar, on the platform, and on the stump. Like all great orators he had evidently studied the art of speech, and understood perfectly the importance of language as an instrument of this art, and as a vehicle of ideas.

But all these elements, indispensable as they are to the orator, do not explain his eloquence.

From a careful study of the speeches (in the light of his life and character) I am convinced that his power as an orator is due to the truth, nobility, and patriotism of his principles,— to the high moral tone and sincerity of his utterances. Every address breathes the purest patriotism, is tremulous with the most exalted sentiments. Oratory like this alone appeals to and finds a responsive chord in all that is divine in our nature.

The harmony of his periods, the splendor of his rhetoric, reflected his mind as well as his subject imaged the poetry of his inner soul.

As to the character of Seargent S. Prentiss there is but one opinion. Friends and opponents — he never had an enemy — unite in pronouncing him one of the noblest of men, honest, truthful, humane, charitable and sincere. He was the soul of honor, a gentleman in the highest and best sense of the term. He was generous to a fault.

"For his bounty
There was no winter in it; an autumn 'twas
That grew the more by reaping."

Henry A. Wise, who was his contemporary in Congress and who was on terms of intimacy with him, said "he was almost the only man he ever knew whom he never heard utter a scandal."

"A rarer spirit
Did never steer humanity."

The beautiful and touching letters written by him to his mother and sister reveal a heart as kind and tender as his mind was brilliant and powerful.

The limits of this paper will not permit me to speak of the versatility of the talents of this most remarkable man. Whatever he touched turned to gold.

"There was no subject so dry — no chasm so deep, but he could span with the rainbow of his imagination — a rainbow in which the most varied hues were beautifully commingled in one gorgeous arch of light."

I can close this imperfect sketch no more fittingly than by a quotation from the brilliant eulogy pronounced upon him by J. F. H. Claiborne, his generous opponent in the Mississippi Congressional contest:

"He was endowed with more genius than any man we ever met with — the genius that comprehends all things, achieves all things, and perishes as the hero of Macedon perished because there are no more difficulties to overcome, no more worlds to conquer."

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1819

BY HON. HARRY R. VIRGIN

Read before the Maine Historical Society, January 20, 1904

In writing a paper on the Constitutional Convention of 1819, I have thought it advisable to give a cursory view of the incidents preceding, and in a measure, preparatory to that convention; a brief sketch of its personnel; an abstract of some of the leading debates; with comments upon some of the incidents of the last eighty-four years, resulting from the adoption of the constitution formulated by that convention.

In preparing this paper I have, perforce, drawn largely and freely from "Jeremiah Perley's Debates," which, by the way, is the only unabreviated record of the convention, and have derived the early historical data largely from the *Maine Constitutional Convention*, published by Charles E. Nash.

For more than thirty-five years prior to the final separation of the District of Maine from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the matter was more or less actively agitated, conventions were called, delegates elected thereto, memorials and petitions drawn up and presented to citizens for signature, and were forwarded to the General Court.

The greatest interest appears first to have been aroused in Cumberland County, in the vicinity of

Falmouth, now Portland, and the leaven worked from there into York and Lincoln counties.

As early as 1785, thirty persons from Falmouth and vicinity assembled, discussed the measure, and voted to issue a circular letter to the towns and plantations, requesting them to send delegates to another convention.

In 1786, another convention met at Falmouth, and after two days session and discussion, voted in the opinion of the convention "The Counties of York, Cumberland and Lincoln labor under grievances." The convention elected a committee of nine to consider further grievances.

The committee recommended that the convention should draft a petition to the General Court requesting their consent that the said counties should form a separate government, and the same with an address to the people upon the subject should be transferred to the several towns and plantations for their consideration. The report was accepted and a petition and address drawn up, ordered printed, together with a list of the grievances, and forwarded to the people. The convention then adjourned to the last Wednesday in January, 1787.

The address is too long to be given in full in this paper, but it may be interesting to quote from that address that portion giving the ideas of the convention as to the nature of government.

In the language of the address:

"You feel yourself distressed, and your distresses will increase until you legislate for yourselves. In

this there is no great difficulty. Government is a very simple, easy thing. Mysteries in politics are mere absurdities invented entirely to gratify the ambition of princes and designing men ; to aggrandize those who govern, at the expense of those who are governed. But the end of government is the good of the people ; the only design of its institution is to secure to them, as far as possible the blessings of life."

The address also called upon every citizen to vote for or against separation, and called upon the towns to transmit the result of the votes to the convention at its adjourned meeting.

At the adjourned meeting, serious difficulties arose in connection with ascertaining the result of the votes in the various towns and plantations. After some discussion the convention adjourned from January 31 to September 5, 1787, when another attempt was made to collect the sentiment of the people, but no returns were received. There were five or six other adjournments, until at the last adjourned meeting, only three of the Portland delegates were present, one of whom was chosen president pro tempore, another as clerk, and the third made a motion for adjournment ; but as the chronicler says, " As there was no one present but the president and clerk to second the motion, the convention expired, not only with a groan, but without a single mourner to weep over its remains."

In 1793, and also in 1794, other conventions were held, and the matters were again discussed, an

address was issued, and an estimate of the expenses of a new government was prepared. The aggregate of the estimated expenses of a new government amounted to £4,650, or in round numbers $23,250. The sum then paid to Massachusetts was £6,200, or $31,000, making a difference in favor of the new government of £1,550, or $7,750. A comparison of those figures with the expenses of the State for the year 1902, would hardly furnish a fair test of the judgment of the compilers of the above estimate. The amount appropriated for the expenses of government for the year 1902 was $2,174,677.66. Of that amount $550,000 was for the school fund and mill tax, $85,000 for salaries of public officers, $150,000 for temporary loan for war purposes, etc.

Although the conventions of 1793 and 1794 did not result in bringing about the desired separation, they served to give the citizens an opportunity to express their feelings, and likewise to create a more active interest in the subject.

It has been suggested that the expectation of relief which the citizens of the District had formed, was the principal cause of the quietness which prevailed in the District during the trouble in the west of the Commonwealth, and that otherwise they might have resorted to violence.

During the next twenty years, although interest in the matter flagged at times, it by no means died out. It was, however, the so-called Brunswick Convention of 1816 that really paved the way for the final separation.

In that year, on petition of William King and others, the General Court passed an act authorizing the qualified voters in the District of Maine, to meet in the respective towns on the first Monday of September of that year, and give in their votes for and against separation of Maine from Massachusetts, and authorized all towns to elect delegates to meet in convention at Brunswick to examine the returns of votes, and if the number was found to be as five to four in favor of separation, the delegates were to prepare a constitution for the new State, to be submitted to the people.

Party lines were well defined in Maine at that time, about one-third being Federalists and two-thirds Democrats, the former generally opposing, and the latter generally favoring separation.

Great interest was manifested in the matter and an active campaign was carried on during the summer.

It is to William Allen, Jr., a member of the convention from Norridgewock, that we were indebted for a full record of the doings of the convention, as well as for an interesting sketch of the leading incidents that then took place. The record is to be found in Vol. II, Second Series, Collection of Maine Historical Society.

Mr. Allen's account of the proceedings is so quaint and interesting, I quote freely :

"Monday, Sept. 29. The convention met at the meeting-house at ten o'clock. The leading members delayed organizing, and opportunity was given for the two parties to ascertain their strength, and to

make arrangements for the occasion. Lists of the votes had been published in the public papers, and the names of the delegates and their character, and it was generally conceded that the required number of votes in favor of separation had not been obtained.

* * * * * * * *

"A committee was appointed to ascertain the standing of the two parties, who reported that as near as could be ascertained two hundred delegates had been elected — that a majority of twelve, at least, were for separation. On returning to the meeting house, Judge Widgery, of Portland, was designated to call the convention to order, but he did not seem to know how to do it. All seemed to be at a loss, and discussion ensued and nothing was done during the forenoon. Nor was much else accomplished in the afternoon.

"Tuesday, Sept. 30. The absent members nearly all came in, and light broke in, and General King was chosen president forthwith, and a secretary chosen. Returns of votes were called for by counties, and the result in each town announced by the chair. Mr. Preble and other Democratic members took it upon themselves to collect and hand in the returns in favor of separation, as they had a right to do for their friends. When the returns from Somerset were called for, I collected all, both for and against, and among others, the returns from Phillips and Avon, nearly unanimous for separation, handed to me by a friend who had been entrusted with them, being known as in favor of separation. I was not

known by Preble, and he, being on the watch, immediately inquired of my friend as to the completion of the returns he had delivered to me and what my views were. On being informed that the returns were for separation, but that I was opposed to it, Preble reprimanded my good friend with severity for what he had done, saying that 'those returns would be withheld or destroyed.'

"In the course of the day all the returns were accounted for except for five or six towns, among them the town of Lyman, in which six only were in favor and one hundred and seventy-nine votes against separation. The return was traced into two or three hands and lost in the fog. Preble was challenged and denied that he had it. I thought he equivocated, and as he had suggested that I was not to be trusted, I thought of the motto attached to the sign of the Order of the Garter, 'Evil to him who evil thinks.' When a committee was appointed the next day to make search for the returns that were missing, I kept my eye on him until I saw him pass that from Lyman to a respectable clergyman, a member from the County of York, behind the corner of the meeting house, as we were coming in at the afternoon session, and whisper a verbal message to him. I followed the bearer in and saw him lay the return on the secretary's table without any ceremony. When the convention was called to order the secretary passed the document to the president and said he found it on his table, and did not know how it came there. The contents were announced and the return passed to

the committee; but this was not the end of it. It was later rejected by the committee.

"The returns from Eliot and Frankfort were traced to A, and from A to B, and B to C, and were probably tried by fire and lost."

For the next four days the convention did nothing but wait for the report of the committee and adjourned from Saturday noon to Monday, when the committee came in with a long report. Whereupon debate ensued, which soon became animated and even fiery. The report was so manifestly unfair and false, that even the advocates of separation opposed its acceptance, and would not vote for it. Mr. Emery, of Portland, was in favor of separation, but could not vote for the report. "If," said he, "we adopt the resolution in the report, which states that a majority of five to four is obtained, we assert an untruth. It is palpable falsehood." Mr. Holmes, of Alfred, replied, "I assure the gentleman from Portland, that the aspersions thrown on the committee by him are gross and malignant and whoever charges me with uttering a deliberate lie I shall be far from treating with the most profound respect." The report was accepted, a committee of twenty-five for reporting a constitution was appointed, also a committee to make application to Congress, and another to address the Legislature, after which the convention adjourned until the third Tuesday of December next.

As a commentary on the methods of the "good old times," the record of the Brunswick Convention is interesting to say the least.

The report of the committee that the requisite number of votes had been given in favor of separation was so unique, and out of the ordinary course, that the principles of numeration adopted by the committee became known as the "Brunswick Arithmetic."

Notwithstanding the action of the Brunswick Convention, and its favorable report, it did not accomplish the separation of the District from the Commonwealth. The act containing the Articles of Separation under which the separation was finally effected, was passed by the General Court and approved by the governor of Massachusetts, June 19, 1819. Those articles denote a master hand, so complete were they in providing for everything that was necessary to effect the separation.

With such a complete form of procedure, it was a simple matter, with their previous experience, for the people of the District to vote on the question of separation. Seventeen thousand and ninety-one votes having been given for, and only 7,132 against separation, the governor of Massachusetts issued his proclamation announcing the result and called upon the qualified voters in the various towns now entitled to send one or more representatives to the General Court, and all other incorporated towns in the District, to assemble in town meeting in the separate towns on the third Monday in September, 1819, to be notified by warrant of the selectmen and elect one or more delegates, not exceeding the number of representatives which such town is now entitled to, each

town, however, to be entitled to elect one, to meet delegates from other towns within the District, in convention, at the court house, in Portland, on the second Monday of October next for the purpose of forming a constitution, or frame of government for said District, and for other purposes expressed in the act of separation.

The various towns having elected their delegates, the Constitutional Convention met at the court house, in Portland, October 11, 1819, and was called to order by Hon. Daniel Cony, of Augusta. The committee on credentials reported 274 members present legally returned. Among the delegates were the leading men of all walks of life throughout the District.

Of the leaders there came from York County Ether Shepley, of Saco, afterwards chief justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, father of the late Judge George F. Shepley; from Alfred came John Holmes, later a member of Congress and afterwards United States senator, a man of the keenest intellect and a power in the convention; Joseph Dane, of Wells, now Kennebunk, who was the first representative to Congress to take his seat from Maine; Benjamin Greene, of South Berwick, at one time chief justice of the Eastern Circuit Court; George Thacher, of Biddeford, associate justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts until separation.

From Cumberland County came forty-five delegates, among whom were Nicholas Emery, of Portland, one of the leading spirits of the convention,

who afterwards was an associate justice of the Supreme Judicial Court; also Albion K. Parris, of Portland, a member of Congress, judge of the United States District Court, United States senator, associate justice Supreme Judicial Court, also second controller of the United States Treasury under President Jackson. Another delegate from Portland was William P. Preble, afterwards United States district attorney, justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, minister to the Hague under President Jackson, and later represented the United States in the Northeastern Boundary Dispute, and was of much assistance in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. Another of the leaders from Portland was Ezekiel Whitman, one of the ablest debaters in the convention, afterwards chief justice of the Supreme Judicial Court. From Lincoln County came Benjamin Ames, of Bath, speaker of the first Maine House of Representatives, president of the Senate in 1824; Ebenezer Herrick, of Bowdoinham, was another Lincoln County delegate who took an active part in the convention, and was afterwards a member of Congress. Then there was William King, of Bath, who was the president of the convention, and was also the first governor of Maine. Parker McCobb, of Phipsburg, a wealthy shipbuilder and owner, miller and merchant, was a delegate. An incident, a commentary of the times, is related of Mr. McCobb, to the effect that when Lafayette was on a visit to the States in 1825, a barouche owned by Mr. McCobb was sent for and used to convey the General into Saco and Portland, as the only carriage in the State

fitted for the purpose. The house in which Lafayette slept in Saco, both in going to Portland and on his return from there, is the old so-called Seth Spring mansion, now in good repair but occupied by J. G. Deering & Son as an office for its lumber business on Spring's Island, between Biddeford and Saco. Lafayette occupied the chamber over what is now Mr. Frank Deering's private office. Commodore Tucker, of Bristol, was also a delegate.

Kennebec County was represented by James Bridge, of Augusta, also John Chandler, of Monmouth, who had been a brigadier-general in the War of 1812, later a member of Congress. There came also from Augusta, Daniel Cony, who was one of the electors who chose George Washington, President, and John Adams, Vice-President, for the second term. He was also judge of the Court of Common Pleas, also judge of probate. He was grandfather of Gov. Samuel Cony, Gov. Ruel Williams, and of Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller.

There came from Oxford County, Judah Dana, of Fryeburg, who was a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, later a United States senator. It is his old mansion that Dr. Seth C. Gordon bought some years ago, and which he has beautified and adorned and now occupies for his summer home. Judge Dana came of good stock, being a grandson of Israel Putnam. He was father of Gov. John W. Dana.

I was interested to know, and may be pardoned for mentioning, that my grandfather, Peter C. Virgin, of Rumford, was also a delegate and took an active part.

He had also been a member of the Brunswick Convention.

There were other able men in the convention from various parts of the District, but the character and abilities of those already enumerated sufficiently indicate that the ablest, most thoughtful and best equipped men in the entire District, were about to assemble to frame a constitution for the new State. Many of the members had been delegates to the Brunswick Convention of 1816, and also to other previous conventions, and all were ardently interested in the work before them. Being men of strong convictions, they were often loth to yield their opinions even for sake of harmony. There was a notable absence of party spirit, but over some of the principles of the propodse constitution, lines were sharply drawn, and in the debates that ensued the various speakers became animated and at times eloquent in portraying dangers to be avoided, or benefits to be derived from certain provisions of the proposed constitution.

The delegates having assembled at the court house in Portland, proceeded, with but little delay, to complete the organization of the convention by the election of William King, of Bath, as president, and Robert C. Vose, of Augusta, as secretary.

A resolution was adopted that the several ordained and settled clergymen of the town of Portland be requested by the sergeant-at-arms, in behalf of the convention, from day to day in succession, according to their seniority, to attend and perform the duties of chaplain of the convention.

It may be interesting to note that this custom, with few exceptions, when a permanent chaplain has been appointed, has prevailed in the House and Senate to the present time. Except that the ordained ministers of Augusta, Hallowell and Gardiner, now officiate in each branch in that capacity, at a salary of two dollars per day, or per prayer, inasmuch as the chaplain retires from the chamber as soon as his prayer is finished.

The power of the press was recognized at the first session, a resolve being adopted that the "President assign to any editor of any public newspaper, or the agent of any such editor, who may apply for it, a convenient situation for the purpose of taking notes of the proceedings of the convention."

The convention adjourned to meet at the First Parish meeting-house where all subsequent sessions were held.

At the very threshhold of the convention, a heated discussion arose over the name of the new State, and the method to be followed in adopting a name. Much stress was laid on saving the time of the committee on constitution and giving the convention something to discuss and act upon, while waiting for the committee on constitution, it being suggested that so far as their constituents were concerned, "Time is money." The delegates were paid their travel and a per diem.

That arrangement is in marked contrast to the method of compensating the present members of the Legislature, except in the matter of travel. Under

the latter method each senator and representative gets his travel reckoned at six cents per mile from his home to the Capital and return once, and the munificent salary of $150 for the session, whether it be long or short. The size of the salary may be an inducement to short sessions. But, however that may be, the average member of the Legislature finds after he has paid his political assessment, his board bill and incidentals, cigars and liquid refreshments, if he regales himself and his friends with those luxuries, that, after crediting his salary against his expenses, he has paid for the privilege of serving the State, and being reckoned among the Solons, to put it mildly, a very tidy sum. I am, however, digressing.

A committee on name was appointed, and further debate on a name was postponed, only to break out with renewed vigor at a later date.

An amusing incident occurred in relation to the credentials of the member from Dearborn, who was also town clerk, and had omitted to sign the certificate of his election. Judge Thacher moved that the member have leave to certify as required by law, whereupon objection was made on the ground that it should have been done in open town meeting. Judge Greene, who gave frequent evidence of the keenness of his wit, suggested that the situation of the member was peculiar, inasmuch as it was necessary for him to certify for himself. It was his modesty that prevented, and a man ought not to suffer for his modesty, so excellent a quality ought to be regarded

wherever found. From those remarks it would appear that modesty was as rare in those days as it seems to be at the present time.

The committee on style and title of the new State reported an ordinance determining that it should be called the "Commonwealth of Maine."

Judge Thacher undertook to postpone consideration until the committee on constitution could be present, or had reported. But Mr. Preble, who had the faculty of making pertinent suggestions, successfully opposed delay by saying: "It needs no spirit of prophecy to foretell from the experience already had, that the time taken up in the convention will be much protracted. We sit here, sir, at an expense of little less than $5,000 a week, and our constituents, who have this to pay, will be desirous of knowing why we did not proceed to discuss the subject of the style and title, when if we do not proceed, we must sit here idle with nothing to do."

Mr. Parsons moved to amend the report by striking out the word "Commonwealth" and inserting the word "State," on account of saving time and expense in writing and printing.

Mr. Wallingford preferred "State." There is no provision in the federal constitution for admitting a commonwealth.

Mr. Cutler, of Farmington, said the committee decided in favor of "Commonwealth" as it had been more frequently used, was more consonant with our feelings, we are accustomed to it. It is not a subject of argument, but rather of feeling and opinion.

Mr. Preble said if the change is made, many mistakes will result, as constables and sheriffs and town officers are accustomed to the word "Commonwealth." The word belongs as much to us as to those from whom we are to separate. It seems to be a more respectable title. Because other new states adopted the name "State" it is no example for us. They have been formed from territories and were never a part of a commonwealth. Judge Thacher preferred State as it would be easier to write.

On being put to vote, 119 voted to strike out "Commonwealth" and 113 voted against striking out, and the word "State" was substituted. A change of four votes would have fastened the word "Commonwealth" upon us, and cost the State of Maine for printing that word alone an amount in the aggregate something less than Mr. Rockefeller's annual income; but nevertheless a large sum, when we take into consideration how many times the word has been used in the last eighty years, and how many times it is used in the annual reports and public documents that pass through the hands of the State printer, for which there is annually appropriated the sum of $35,000.

The contest over that part of the title was but a forerunner of the difference of opinion as to the real name of the new State. Mr. Tucker, of Standish, moved to strike out "Maine" and insert "Columbus." Mr. Vance favored Maine. It is the name we are known by in this country and in Europe. Half a century would pass away before the new name was

as well known. It is suitable to retain the name as for many purposes we shall be the main State in the Union.

In his little jest, Mr. Vance was more of a prophet than he realized. Nor do I think that the average citizen of this State comprehended (in a slight degree) the rank the State of Maine attained, and maintained in the councils of the nation, while Mr. Reed was speaker, Mr. Dingley, chairman of the committee of ways and means, Mr. Boutelle, chairman of the House committee on naval affairs, Mr. Milliken, on the public buildings committee, Mr. Hale, chairman of the committee on naval affairs in the Senate, Mr. Frye, chairman of the committee on commerce, and later president of the Senate. During those years, Maine wielded more influence in national affairs than any other State, not excepting New York, Pennsylvania or Ohio. But to return to the convention.

At a later day the subject again coming before the convention, Judge Cony said he had no objection to the proposed existing name, but he was led by a view of consecrating the opening era of a new community by rendering an act of justice long delayed to propose as a substitute the name of Columbus.

Judge Thacher was not disposed to deprive old Columbus of any honors, but he did not think that it was among them to give a name to the State of Maine. Columbus did not discover this part of the continent. Nor did he know as long as he lived that the continent he discovered extended to these latitudes.

At a subsequent session, another attempt was made to substitute "Commonwealth" for "State," which gave rise to a vigorous debate. Nevertheless the convention adhered to the style of "State of Maine." But notwithstanding their debate, the advocates of the word "Commonwealth" brought the matter up again, when the report of the committee on constitution was made, and consideration of the preamble was reached. At this time, more suggestions were offered, and the old arguments were rehashed.

Mr. Whitman, who had not been present during the previous discussions, being a member of the committee on constitution, dissented from the name "Maine," but presented a name derived from a considerable part of Maine, "the appropriate and well-sounding and respectable name of Ligonia." The convention, however, refused to listen to the suggestion and refused to make any change.

The protracted debates, the many and diverse opinions, the somewhat heated arguments, make it plainly evident that the good name of the State of Maine, so to speak, was considered a matter of grave importance by the convention.

If it had been called Columbus, or Ligonia, or any other name, I suppose we should be as happy, as contented, and as proud of our native State, as we now are under its present title.

In marked contrast to the struggle over a name for the new State, when the question of compensation of the members of the convention came up for consideration, the report of the committee fixing the

compensation at two dollars for every twenty miles travel and two dollars per day was adopted without a murmur or dissenting voice.

The preliminary work of the convention having been performed, and all minor differences having been disposed of, for the time being, the main work of the convention began with the consideration of the report of the committee on constitution.

The preamble, as reported by the committee, and as it stands to-day, was accepted after the words "Sovereign Ruler" had been inserted in place of "Great Legislator," which latter title had been used in the constitution of Massachusetts.

The first and second sections of the Bill of Rights were adopted as reported without discussion.

When section third of the Bill of Rights was reached, a committee of the Catholics of Maine presented a memorial stating that under the constitution of Massachusetts they were excluded from an equal participation in the benefits of government, and prayed that by the new constitution they might be admitted to an equality of religious and civil rights and immunities.

The petition was laid on the table for the reason that if the constitution was adopted as reported, there would be no discrimination against any religious sect.

The consideration of the third section relating to the right of all men to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience, resulted in a protracted and animated and at times eloquent debate.

Judge Thacher moved as an amendment to the report, "As it is the absolute duty of all men to worship God their Creator, so it is their natural right to worship him in such a way and manner as their conscience dictates to be agreeable to His revealed will." Saying it was substantially the same as contained in the Declaration of Rights in the Constitution under which they had lived for forty years.

"It was not enough to say it is the natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God. Men might remit certain rights introduced for their own benefit, so they might omit, if they did not give up the right. He hoped no member of the convention wished to secure to themselves, or to any body of people, the right *not* to worship at all, as well as the right to worship according to the dictates of conscience as often as they saw fit to worship."

He believed the phrase "Right to worship God according to each man's conscience," really and truly meant to worship, or not to worship, as he pleases.

These sentiments were sufficient to kindle the flames of a religious discussion that soon grew heated, and the more it progressed the hotter it became. It was replete with fine distinctions, some of the speeches bristling with sharp points, while some of the speakers became really eloquent in the heat of debate, so much so that their opponents resorted to ridicule to break the force of the arguments, even to the point of being called to order by the president.

But, although the debates were exceedingly interesting, only the briefest and baldest abstracts can be

given of a few of the speeches, the limits of this paper not admitting of more.

A few quotations may suffice to give some idea of the characteristics and abilities of the debaters.

Dr. Rose, of Boothbay, opposed the amendment, saying that the delegates came to the convention to establish a declaration of rights, and not a prescription of duties. The amendment is a deviation from the purposes and objects of the article, which is not to point out to the citizens their moral and religious obligations, but by a plain and explicit statement to instruct them in their civil rights and regulate their political privileges.

Mr. Herrick, of Bowdoinham, had no objection to declare it to be the duty of man to worship God, but he would by no means clothe the Legislature with authority to enforce by penalties the performance of that duty.

Mr. Holmes, as chairman of the committee, explained the reason that induced the committee to adopt the article as reported. He did not think it proper for him to express his own opinion of duty in a declaration of rights. To make it a duty to exercise a right is preposterous. Individually he believed it his duty to worship God publicly and at stated seasons. But he was not sure that he who believes it his duty to worship Him in private only, is equally right. It would be difficult, perhaps, to prove incontestably, that public worship was anywhere expressly enjoined in Scripture. There may be very conscientious people who would insist, with

pretty good authority, too, that all public worship is pharisaical, and that man, to commune properly with his Maker, should enter into his closet, and not until he had shut the door, was he to pray to his Father in secret. Worship is the voluntary offering of the fruit of the heart to a deity. The moment it becomes involuntary it ceases to be worship.

"This was the most difficult subject the committee had to encounter. They concluded at length, to declare the peoples' rights of conscience without attempting to define their religious duties. To prescribe the duty would be to authorize the Legislature to enforce it. This would excite jealousy and alarm. The worship of God is and ought to be free. Religious oppression brought their fathers to this country and their descendants will not fail to resist it."

This concise statement settled the fate of the amendment which was lost by a large majority.

This did not, however, settle the question. Mr. Stevens, of China, offered as an amendment, "Every sect or denomination of Christians ought to observe the Sabbath or Lord's day, and keep up some sort of religious worship, which to them shall seem most agreeable to the revealed will of God," and spoke at length in its favor.

To the argument of Mr. Stevens, Mr. Holmes replied admitting that the Legislature has the right to set apart one day in seven as a day of rest, to select the day and to prohibit then labor and recreation. This comes within the scope of the general powers. But they have no right to prescribe the day

as a day of worship to one who believes that another day is the proper Sabbath.

Judge Thacher argued that, inasmuch as the article applied not only to all denominations of Christians, but to all religionists, there could be no impropriety in adopting the amendment. We are in no danger from Sabbath laws; if opposed to the sentiments of the people they will set them at defiance.

Had the Judge lived in these days he might justify his prediction that unpopular laws would be set at defiance by citing the "Bangor plan."

But notwithstanding its friends urgently advocated its adoption, the amendment was voted down. Judge Whitman, of Portland, then took the floor and commended the Bill of Rights so far as it went, but complained that it was wholly of a negative character; saying, "We have very properly guarded against the undue exercise of power, have determined what the Legislature may *not* do, but have not said what they may or shall do. Religion is, to be sure, a matter between man and his Maker. All government is founded on religion. It is the basis of social order.

"By this Bill of Rights the Legislature have no power to make provision for its support, no power is given to make donations or to incorporate trustees for the management of funds or donations made by individuals.

"The people are jealous of their liberties; but this jealousy, laudable within certain limits, may be carried to a pernicious extreme, and this is the case

when, from apprehension of danger to their freedom, they withold such powers from their rulers.

"Our real security in this particular lies in the frequency of our elections, while the frequency and purity of elections continue, I feel no apprehension for the security of the liberties of our country.

"There are various things which might be done for the encouragement and upholding of religion and religious institutions, which would in no wise affect the rights of conscience. These the Legislature ought not only to have the power to do, but it should be their duty to do."

Whereupon he offered as an amendment:

"As the happiness of a people and the good order and preservation of civil government especially depend upon piety, religion and morality; and as these cannot generally be diffused but by the institutions of the public worship of God, and of public instructions in piety, religion and morality, therefore to promote their happiness and to secure good order and the preservation of their government, the Legislature shall have the power, and are hereby authorized, by all suitable means, to encourage and support the institutions of public worship and of public instruction in the principles of piety, religion and morality."

Judge Parris was opposed to some of the principles of the amendment, saying, "It is well known that the people are divided into sects. Some one may hereafter become predominant, and I am opposed to trusting them with power of putting their hands into

the public chest and appropriating, to the exclusive benefit of their own sect, the funds of the State.

"Such things may happen, and the parties will plead this article in their defence. They will say it is appropriating money for the support of religion, and they will undoubtedly think it suitable that their own sect should have the preference."

After the proposition had been argued at length both pro and con, Mr. Holmes made an impassioned and eloquent argument against the adoption of the proposed amendment, which was so effective that Judge Thacher undertook to counteract its effect by ridicule, going to such an extreme that he was called to order by the president. The argument of Mr. Holmes, and also that of Mr. Whitman, in support of his amendment are well worth reading; Mr. Whitman closing the debate on his amendment with a long, logical and well-nigh convincing argument that must have had great weight with the convention, had not the minds of the delegates been made up in favor of freedom of worship. But even the logic of Mr. Whitman could not save his amendment. I regret that the limits of this paper will not permit giving even the pith of their arguments.

The third section of the Bill of Rights was then adopted.

So far as the third section has come under my observation, it seems to me to be a wise one, at least, so far as the results that have followed its adoption have disclosed.

Considering the growth of the State in population,

and the fact that a large foreign population has drifted in, and is now a part of the body politic, and considering, further, the larger church-going population, both in the city and in the country, and that the church attendance is voluntary, at least so far as the State government is concerned, and is in most cases free from hypocrisy, it seems to me the result has justified the opposition to the various amendments all of which were to the same end, and has proved the wisdom of the framers of the constitution in effecting the final separation of church and State, in this State.

What the result might have been had the amendments so far as declaring it the duty of man to acknowledge God and to attend and support divine worship, been adopted, no one can say, but only imagine. But by analogy one may perhaps be justified in arguing from the results of the attempts to enforce the prohibitory law that there would have been more hypocrites in religious matters had the State, under the sanction of law, attempted to enforce attendance at church and the public worship of God. Not only more hypocrites, but less real reverence for religion, religious instruction, the church, and for Almighty God.

I do not propose to discuss the prohibitory law, but do assert that any one who walks with his eyes open must be convinced that, while the law may and does result in restraining drinking in some degree in some localities, and while it undoubtedly is beneficial in other ways, nevertheless it does make hypocrites, and does create, and conduce to, disregard of all law.

In fixing the qualifications of electors, Chief Justice Shepley, of Saco, moved to add to those persons excepted from being electors for governor, etc., "those who have been convicted of any infamous crime and not pardoned."

Judge Thacher thought it would be too severe. Suppose a lad nine or ten years of age should, in fact, be convicted before a justice of the peace for felony of a nest of hen's eggs, or some trifling property, and afterwards become a good and worthy member of society. Will this convention declare him forever after unworthy of the privilege of voting in those elections? He hoped not. There are many deviations from rectitude in youth that ought to be forgotten and forgiven when the regularity of riper years have made atonement by a regular and virtuous life.

Judge Cony suggested that the amendment would go too far; the man who has been convicted of a crime may repent of his misdeeds and become reformed, and a useful member of society. The most infamous character may be pardoned. But if he be really reformed it would be hard to deprive him of a right so dear to him.

Judge Shepley advocated his amendment because it tended to preserve the purity of elections, and also for the good effects it was calculated to produce in the community, without regard to elections. Young persons would be more cautious of committing crimes, and courts would be more careful of convictions.

The proposition met with so much opposition that it was voted down.

In fixing upon a day for the annual fall election, the committee had reported in favor of the second Monday of September; but Mr. Holmes offered an amendment inserting Wednesday in place of Monday, because the arrangements for elections are frequently attended to on the Sabbath.

Colonel Moody hoped there was virtue enough in the people of the new State not to violate the Sabbath for electioneering purposes. There are many mechanics who are in the habit of going home from their labor, a considerable distance on Saturday and returning Monday morning, and it would be more convenient for them to attend the election on that day and not be obliged to go home on purpose.

Mr. Baldwin said the farmers would be equally inconvenienced by the proposed alteration. They frequently want to leave home the beginning of the week, to go to market, or for other purposes, and to be absent for the week, and this would interfere with their business.

It will be remembered that those were the days of stage coaches, when railroads, electric cars, telegraphs, telephones and even automobiles were yet undreamed of, except, perhaps, by Mother Shipton.

Mr. Parsons, of Edgecomb, said the fishermen were equally interested in preferring Monday, as they generally go out the first of the week and return home at the end of it.

Mr. Holmes then withdrew his amendment, inasmuch as it appeared to inconvenience so many classes of people. For those reasons Monday was fixed upon as election day.

There seems to have been a desire to accommodate the greatest number, and all classes, so far as possible.

It may be interesting to know why the election was fixed for the month of September rather than any other month.

The committee had reported in favor of September, and there was an attempt to change the date to October; but General Chandler opposed the change because if there was no election of representatives by classed towns, there would be need of more time to complete their election.

Mr. Holmes said the reasons that influenced the committee in favor of September, was that it might be fixed on a day between the former and the latter harvests, as the least busy season. That attempt being unsuccessful, an attempt was made to have the election day fixed for the third instead of the second Monday of September; but Colonel Moody thought it best as it stood, inasmuch as the third Monday, coming so near the equinox, the weather would not probably be so favorable. That was a sufficient reason, so far as the vote indicated the feelings of the convention, inasmuch as the change was not agreed upon. It is very likely that the same old superstitution is entertained by many a man to-day.

The part of the constitution which created the greatest interest gave rise to the most protracted

discussion, and in fact which was debated for days, and even weeks, was in relation to the number and method of apportionment of the representatives to the Legislature.

While the religious discussions had been earnest and protracted, they did not compare in length or intensity of feeling with those on the latter topic.

The suggestions offered, the arguments adduced, the results predicted were nearly as numerous as the number of members of the convention. The number of representatives to the General Court under the provisions of the Massachusetts constitution of that date sometimes amounted to nearly seven hundred, of which number sixty constituted a quorum. Such a great number had proved unwieldly.

The number of representatives proposed for the new State ranged from fifty to five hundred; but the suggestion of the committee was finally adopted that the number consist of not less than 100 nor more than 200. After the number was fixed the method of apportionment gave rise to animated debate, the contest being between the larger towns and small communities.

A resume of the debates would take more time than the limits of this paper will allow; but it may be interesting to relate some of the points made by the various speakers. Many of the speeches were long, but to the point, and decidedly entertaining to one interested in those matters.

In the committee's report there was no provision as to the reapportionment every ten years, nor for a

census subsequent to the first apportionment, at every period of at most ten years and at least five years; but those provisions were afterwards offered as amendments and adopted.

General Chandler, whose mind was clear, insight keen and grasp comprehensive, objected to the apportionment of representatives on the counties, and then on the towns within the counties. "Because, although, at the first apportionment it will be equal, if apportioned to the counties and towns only once in ten years, it will, in the result, be unequal. For instance: an apportionment is made to-day for ten years; in the course of time the increase of population in York County is little or nothing, it is nearly stationary, whereas in the County of Somerset and other new counties, the increase is so rapid that the population is almost doubled in ten years. Still those counties, and the towns therein, can only be represented until the end of ten years, according to the population of ten years before, and it will therefore operate unequally.

"Besides if the system of apportioning the representatives on the counties be adopted, it makes the system more complex and a less number of inhabitants in a town in one county will give a representative, than it will require in a town in another county, owing to the number of towns to apportion representatives upon."

Judge Thacher said: "It seemed the deliberate opinion of well informed men that 100 representatives would always be abundantly adequate to all the

purposes of legislation. There were some advantages to be derived by the public from a numerous house, every member gains useful information, carries it to his town. The Legislature is an important school, and the members from distant country towns that have but little connection with the great political world would return home as teachers and schoolmasters, and though those advantages cannot be estimated in dollars and cents, yet general observation will satisfy every discerning mind they are an equivalent to the expense. Much has been said in favor of a numerous representation because it carried the feelings, passions and individual interests of the people into the legislative body. But such sources of information are not very favorable to legislation. A legislative body does not want either the feelings, interests, passions or humors of individuals. It wants the calm judgment, sagacious foresight, a knowledge of facts, with ready power of combination. A very little feeling and much common sense will make a good representative.

"It is not the number of representatives merely that constitute perfection of representation to a town or given number of people. 'Tis the knowledge and capacity for legislation united to an inflexible integrity. These, and these only, are the proper qualities to form a good representative,"— a wise summary of the qualifications of a good representative.

If those sentiments were printed on the certificates of election of each member of the Legislature, and his particular attention called thereto, the effect

to say the least, could not be harmful upon some of the members who sometimes are inclined to be careless.

The committee on constitution had found serious difficulty in fixing upon a principle that would give general satisfaction. The representation by towns had become familiar by long experience, and to abandon it for the district principle, regardless of towns, would have been to encounter habits and prejudices strong and obstinate. Nevertheless it was deemed necessary to limit the number.

One of the principal inducements to separation had been that government would be cheaper, and that one-third of the usual number of representatives might perform the duties of legislation with much more dispatch and much less expense, and that with a small number, distributed upon the principles of equality, the rights and liberties of the people would be perfectly safe.

The committee reported in favor of apportioning the number of representatives among the counties according to the number of inhabitants, for the reason that the people of a county have a community of interest, and coincidence of feeling, arising from an acquaintance in transacting the county concerns.

If there is anything like sectional divisions, it is in the counties. The ordinary towns will be entitled to one representative, the small towns and plantations will be classed as conveniently as possible, and of the larger towns, a larger number is required for the second representative, and a still larger number for the third, and so on, progressively, fixing the utmost

limit for any town at seven. By this process the equality of the counties is preserved, and the rights of towns as much as possible, and, although the influence of the larger towns is diminished, this influence is thrown into the small ones in the same vicinity.

The practical working of this principle has amply demonstrated the truth of the committee prophecy, as well as the plain statement of the matter by General Chandler, that a less number of inhabitants in a town in one county will secure a representative, than will be required in a town in another county.

At the last apportionment in 1901, I was a member, and also chairman, of the joint special committee on legislative apportionment, and, as a member of that committee, gained a practical insight into the workings of the rule of apportionment as contained in the constitution.

Under the constitution, the number of representatives is now limited to 151; and the population of the State in 1900, being according to the last census, 694,466, gave as a basis, one representative to 4,599 inhabitants. Cumberland County, with a population of 100,869, was thus entitled to twenty-two representatives, to be apportioned among the cities and towns in the county. Had there been no limit in the number that any one town can have, Portland would have been entitled to eleven representatives. But under the constitution, no town being allowed to have more than seven representatives, the extra four, or fifteen in all, were apportioned to the other towns and cities

in Cumberland County, bringing the basis of representation down to 3,382, or 1,217 fewer inhabitants were required of a town or classes of towns in Cumberland to send a representative, than were required in a town in any other county in the State.

Another result of the rule is that with its present population of 50,145, as shown by the last census, Portland has only one representative to every 7,163 inhabitants; or 2,564 more inhabitants than are required in any other city and town in the State, and 3,781 more inhabitants than is required in any other city or town in Cumberland County.

The fact that 3,382 inhabitants in a town in Cumberland County entitled a town to send a representative, while in every other county a town must have 4,599 inhabitants to enable it to have a representative, was a hard proposition for some of the country members of the committee from counties outside of Cumberland. That, however, was the rule according to the proper construction of the constitution, and there was no escape from it. But when it was known that the City of Portland pays $130,824.85, or one-seventh of the State tax, or, in other words, pays the expenses of twenty-one representatives, the benefits did not seem to be all on one side. So it was all the more apparent when it appeared that Cumberland County pays forty-five per cent. of the State tax, or the expenses of sixty-eight representatives, although entitled to only twenty-two.

There is food for thought in the results of the rule of apportionment as above outlined.

But, although we may *think* of it, the time will never come, in my opinion, when the people of the country towns will ever vote to amend the constitution and relieve the cities of their unequal financial burdens, or give them a more equal representation in the Legislature.

But to return to the convention. Mr. Herrick, of Bowdoinham, at first favored a limited number of representatives, thereby saving expense; but on mature consideration he concluded it was wise to look at the public good alone, and not be alarmed at the additional expense entailed by an increased representation, inasmuch as a larger number of representatives will be the means of diffusing much information among the people. As he estimated it, the expense would be only about six cents to a person, and the difference would be well expended.

Mr. Herrick closed his remarks with the unique statement, which might well be pondered by other speakers, "I have nothing more, sir, to say, which may be considered pertinent, and I should be unwilling to offer anything which is impertinent."

Judge Bridge, of Augusta, one of the committee, stated "that no sentiment has been more strongly impressed on the committee, than that the public opinion demanded a reduction in the number of representatives. To come at this object, there were but two modes presented; one was by a general districting throughout the State, the other by a general representation of towns. The first was thought to be too repugnant to the feelings and habits of the people

to be acceptable. The committee therefore attempted to reduce the number by representation of towns, and increasing the ratio. It was found that by this mode the loss would fall mostly upon the large towns, and he was happy to see the delegates from those towns ready to accede to it."

He further said, "It would not injure the smaller towns, but give them rights which they never had before. The principal difficulty arose from the limitation of the number of representatives by which towns now entitled to a representative would hereafter be deprived of the privilege."

Mr. Vance had not seen one person in his part of the State who wished for more than 100 representatives. Although there is no district in Washington County which will not contain nearly 2,000 inhabitants, and some will have to travel forty miles to election, yet complaints do not come from them. "I believe the electors are not so much afraid of the plan as those who expect to be elected."

The more the subject was discussed the more the delegates were at loggerheads. Even Mr. Holmes was led to remark that he was about to congratulate himself that Massachusetts had given us a provisional constitution, for I begin to doubt whether we shall be found capable of agreeing upon one for ourselves.

It had been suggested that the detailed apportionment in relation to towns and counties was a subject for the Legislature and should not be made a part of the constitution.

To which Mr. Holmes replied, "that if the legislators are not wiser than the members of the convention, he feared they would never be able to agree on a system which will suit themselves or the people. The constitution is to create, direct and restrain the Legislature, and shall we leave the power and mode of creating it to the Legislature itself? The spirit of party may again prevail. The present, to be sure, is a time of great candor and tranquillity; but this may not always last. The lamp of experience is my guide. What has been, may again be. The time will probably come when faction shall rage and discord snap the whips of scorpions! The sun of peace may be involved in a cloud, and distrust and jealousy and hatred overwhelm us. Do you believe your Legislature would then apportion your representatives according to perfect equality?"

Prophetic words! Gerrymandering and shoestring districts were then unknown in Maine; Greenbackism and count-outs had not been thought of.

Mr. Whitman, who was opposed to the plan reported by the committee, argued at great length in favor of a general districting plan regardless of town lines, but was unable to bring the convention to adopt his views.

Mr. Baldwin, of Mercer, was opposed to the districting plan, and in giving his reasons, set forth such a vivid picture of the position taken by the average country member, particularly the farmers, that I have felt justified in quoting freely from his speech.

He said: "It is strenuously urged by gentlemen who live in large towns that there is no reason why they should not have a number of representatives in exact proportion to their population; but it appears to me that this reasoning is not conclusive, for, in the first place, the new towns and plantations are not furnished with men of equal acquirements with the old towns. Gentlemen who have spent the greater part of their lives in study, especially the study of elocution, and that on purpose to enable them to shine in the courts, will generally settle in cities or populous places; the reason is, money is always scarce in those new settlements, there is nothing to induce men of great abilities, especially men of great acquired abilities, to settle in new and thinly inhabited places; money is the lure.

"Now, sir, I have said it, and am bold to say it again, that one gentleman from Portland has more influence in this convention than the whole delegation from Somerset County, which is twenty-nine members. The reason is obvious. The members from country places are mostly farmers and they will generally sit from one end of the session to the other without saying a word. Where there is an assembly of the most brilliant talents and literary accomplishments from all parts of the State, the farmer is loth to expose his ignorance and weakness, and hazard being made the butt of ridicule for his blunders and every day language. And if now and then one dare venture out and blunder on in his home made, every day farmer dialect, his only security is confidence.

If he has plenty of brass, and a good share of common sense, he may possibly jog on and hold his end up tolerably well, in a ludicrous manner; but such instances are rare. For the most part, one man who is master of all the alluring, persuasive and insinuating charms of eloquence, will carry more sway in a legislative body than thirty silent members from the country."

Mr. Baldwin continued with a long and effective argument for equality of representation, not in numbers, but in influence.

Whoever has had legislative experience will recognize the truthfulness of the picture; that is to say, as applied to the average farmer members of the Legislature.

It is by no means true that all the eloquence in legislative bodies is confined to the cities and large towns. The convention itself was a good example of the truth of the fact that the country members sometimes excel the members from the cities in ability and eloquence. Mr. Holmes was by far the most eloquent member of that convention, so far as is indicated by the debates.

Objection was made that when a large town is classed with a small town, without their consent, the small town will invariably be defeated in electing their representative and the large town will uniformly succeed in electing their candidate.

That the objection was well founded has been proved time and again in the case of North Yarmouth and Yarmouth in this county; those two towns having been classed together repeatedly.

Whenever it is Yarmouth's turn to nominate the candidate for representative, the Republicans of North Yarmouth poll their full strength in his favor, and the Republican candidate, with the vote of Yarmouth also, is sure to be elected. But when it is North Yarmouth's turn to nominate the candidate, the Republicans of North Yarmouth nominate a good man, but the Democrats of North Yarmouth, ignoring the rights of their own town to the nomination, yield that right to the Democrats of Yarmouth, who name the candidate from Yarmouth. The almost invariable result is that the Republican candidate from North Yarmouth is defeated by the Democratic candidate from Yarmouth. Inasmuch as Yarmouth is nominally a Republican town, the result above set forth must happen through the willingness of the citizens of Yarmouth to subordinate party principles to town pride.

After being buffeted about on the sea of debate for weeks, the rule of apportionment, as reported by the committee, with the modifications, was adopted, and has served as the rule of apportionment from that time to the present.

This result was only reached by all of the delegates, those from the large, as well as those from the small towns, yielding in some degree, their prejudices, and striving to reach some conclusion that would be satisfactory, or, at least, not objectionable enough to the people to cause the rejection of the constitution.

There was considerable difference of opinion as to

the compensation of the members of the Legislature, and how the members should be paid.

Some advocated that the members should be paid from the State treasury; others that the towns should each pay its own representative's salary and expenses, while still others argued that the travelling expenses should be paid out of the "public chest," and the attendance from the towns or districts they represent

The advocates of the first proposition argued that a representative from a town, represented not only the town but the whole State, and being a part of the whole, should be paid by the whole. To the objection that such a mode worked injustice upon the large towns, because they pay heavy taxes in proportion to their representation, it was urged that the reason that Portland, for instance, was oppressed with taxes, was in consequence of her great wealth. Hence it was simply putting the burden where it should be, on the shoulders of the strong.

Whereas if each town must pay its representative, it may be fairly inferred that each town has a right to decide as a corporate body, whether it will elect a representative or not. For that reason a quorum might not be elected. The advocates of equal representation, by the district plan, rather than by towns, and who had been out-voted, made strenuous opposition to payment of representatives from the public treasury, on the ground that it was taxation without representation. Judge Parris declared that he could sit no longer and listen to declamations of gentlemen

that towns of 7,500 inhabitants are to be shorn of part of their rights, and a town of 4,500 is to have as much power. He could see no reason for taking an equality of power from an equal number of people. He could not consent that they should be taxed to pay for it. To compel the large towns to submit to sacrifices and then compel them to pay for loss of privilege is too much to ask.

As has so frequently happened whenever occasion has offered since that date, in the Legislature, the small towns combine against the cities and large towns, and out-vote them on all matters where there is a conflict of interest.

That is one of the serious evils of the system of representation under which we now live. The most recent example of the combining of the small towns against the cities and large towns at the present time, is furnished in the matter of the division of the school fund and mill tax.

The school fund and mill tax is made up of the tax of one mill on each dollar of taxable property throughout the State, all of the tax on State banks, and one-half of the tax on savings banks, and constitutes a fund for the benefit of the public schools. It is divided among the cities, towns and plantations in proportion to the number of children between the ages of four and twenty-one years. On its face it seems a fair proposition, but practically results in a most unfair division.

For 1902 the school fund and mill tax amounted to $590,280.77 in the division of which 258 towns

received from the State more money than they paid in State tax.

Some of the towns received from this fund, as their share under the law, as it stands, several times as much as they paid State tax. The town of Fort Kent received from the State from this fund, $3,287.27, and paid as its share of the State tax $569.39, or nearly six times as much as it paid State tax.

Frenchville received $1,793.31 and paid only $320.08; Madawaska received $2,112.05 and paid only $544.83. The remaining towns which receive more than they pay vary in amounts from several times as much received as paid, down to an equal sum received and paid.

The cities and large towns all pay more in tax than they receive from the school fund.

Bangor received from the school fund $16,785.58 and paid as its share of State tax, $43,555.21, or nearly three times as much as it received.

Portland received $42,523.83 and paid as tax $130,824.85, or over three times as much as it receives from the school fund and mill tax.

When the question incidentally arose in the Senate two years ago, and the inequality of the system was criticized by a Senator from one of the cities, a country member replied, that, inasmuch as the division of the fund depended upon the number of children of school age, if the fathers and mothers in the cities and large towns do not do their duty, they must not complain of the fathers and mothers in the small towns.

While the last Legislature was in session, a bill was enacted reducing the savings bank tax, whereupon a bill was introduced by some of the country members to divide the savings bank tax in the ratio of five-eighths to the towns for schools, and three-eighths to the State, instead of the one-half to each, as the law provided. The bill passed the House by a large majority and was tabled in the Senate. The friends of the bill claimed that, inasmuch as the tax on savings banks had been cut down, the towns would not continue to get so much money for schools from the school fund and mill tax, unless the towns received a larger proportion of the savings bank tax. The friends and opponents of the bill were about evenly divided in the Senate, and on the last evening of the session, when every other public measure had been disposed of, except the resolve in favor of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, and this bill dividing the savings bank tax, and while both branches were waiting for the appropriation bill to come from the public printer, all of the Senators except sixteen, a bare quorum, having gone home, the resolve was defeated in the Senate and sent back to the House. The bill for dividing the savings bank tax was taken from the table and a motion was made to indefinitely postpone the bill. Of the sixteen members present, a majority were opposed to the bill, but before the vote could be declared, the yeas and nays were called for. Under the generalship of Senator Goodwin, from Skowhegan, while the roll was being called, three Senators, Pike, of Washington, Alden, of

Kennebec, and Morse, of Waldo, left the Senate chamber, leaving the Senate with no quorum voting. That point was raised by the sole member of the Democratic party, the Senator from Knox. The messengers were sent after the absentees, to no purpose, and as no business except to adjourn from day to day, could be transacted under the rules, other than attempting to bring in a quorum, the matter settled down to a trial of strength between the two factions. For nearly five hours, or until nearly three o'clock Sunday morning by standard time, although by the Senate clock it lacked considerably of being twelve o'clock, the hands having been set back at intervals, two of the absentees, with another Senator who had not left the city, came in, after an agreement had been reached that the bill should be voted on on its merits. A vote was taken, and the bill was indefinitely postponed. Before the bill could be sent back to the House with the indorsement of the Senate action thereon, the appropriation bill was passed through both branches, and sent to the governor and approved by him. A joint resolution for final adjournment was also passed in the Senate and sent to the House, which concurred. Before any objection could be made, of any kind, the speaker declared the House adjourned. The reason for this was that only a handful of representatives were present in the House, enough, however, to transact business if no one raised the question of no quorum. But it transpired that as soon as the bill had been returned to the House, indefinitely postponed in the Senate, the

friends of the bill would have raised the point of no quorum, and there would have been no possibility of securing a quorum in the House for days, and possibly not for all summer, thus keeping the two branches in session indefinitely. The House did not even wait for the governor to notify it of the number of bills and resolves signed by him as required by law.

The result was that the school fund bill was on the House table when the Legislature met in adjourned session, the first of September, 1903. During the vacation it transpired, as the opponents of the bill had predicted, that through the increased deposits in the savings banks the aggregate amount of the savings banks tax would not be diminished notwithstanding the rate of taxation was lower, so that the towns would get the same amount of school money as before. The House had passed the bill by a great majority, nearly all the country members, they alone constituting a large majority of the House, being in its favor.

Had it not been for the Senators from the cities and large towns who finally were in a majority in the Senate, the bill would have passed both branches, and, as a consequence, the cities and large towns would have been obliged to pay an increased amount of State tax, equal to one-eighth of the tax derived from the savings banks; although the cities and towns would have received from the State a larger share of the school fund and mill tax, but not in the same or anywhere near the same proportion.

The constitution as adopted compared more than favorably with the constitution of other States, and did, as the preamble stated, establish justice, insure tranquillity, provide for the mutual defence, promote the common welfare and secure to the citizens of the State of Maine, and their posterity, the blessings of liberty. Nevertheless, the course of events disclosed that the constitution was not perfect, and that certain amendments were required to make it equal to emergencies, and to provide for things that had been overlooked, or that had arisen since the adoption of the constitution.

Certain amendments, which I will not enumerate, were proposed,— some were adopted, others failed of adoption.

Of the recent amendments, that relating to prohibition has been criticized more than any other, and more attempts have been made to repeal it. Whether it will ever be repealed is not much in doubt. But one thing is certain, and that is, that it will never be repealed until there is a uniform enforcement of the law in every county in the State so that the citizens may discover whether the law does actually prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors. I doubt if that time ever arrives.

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